Are to be sold by Iasper Emery at the Eagle and Child in Paules Church-yard neer watling street.

BRITISH MUSEUM
38JY69

HISTORY Surveyed

In a brief EPITOMY:

OR,

A Nurſery FOR GENTRY.

Compriſed in an Intermixt Diſcourſe upon *Hiſtoricall* and *Poeticall* Relations. Wherein is much variety of Diſcourſe and modeſt delight.

By *Richard Braithwaite* Eſquire. *Oxon.*

Hor. *Quod verum atque decens curo & rogo & omnis in hoc Sum.*

London, Printed for *J. E.* and are to be ſold by *Nathanael Webb* and *William Grantham*, at the Grey-hound in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1651.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, HENRY Lord WRIOTHSLEY, Earle of Southampton, (Learnings Select Favourite;) RI. BRATHWAIT wiſheth perpetuall increaſe of beſt meriting Honours.

Right Honorable,

SO rarely is PALLAS Shield borne by the Noble, or ſupported by Such whoſe Eminence might Revive her decayed hopes: as *Britaines Parnaſſus* (on which, never were more inhabitants planted, and *Homer-like*, more uſually expulſed) is growne deſpicable in herſelfe, becauſe protected by none but herſelfe.

This *Hiſtorical Survey* was formerly addreſſed in this *Dedicatory Epiſtle* to his *Honour*, whoſe living memory ſhall ever breath to poſterity a ſweet ſmelling Odour. And whoſe unexpiring Fame, hath begot a noble emulation, in his hopefull Succeſſour.

ſelfe. *Hinc ferrea Tempora Surgunt*---: wanting their Cheriſhers (thoſe Heroicke Patrons) whoſe countenance in former times made the Studies of the Learned more pleaſant (having their Labours by ſuch approbation, ſeconded.) Yet in theſe times (*my Honourable Lord*) we may find ſome royall Seedes of priſtine Nobility (wherin we may glory) reſerved, as it were, from ſo great ruines, for the preſervation of Learning, and the continuance of all vertuous Studies; amongſt wch your *Noble Selfe*, as generally reputed learned, ſo a profeſt friend to Such as be ſtudious of Learning: a character which ever held beſt correſpondency with honour, being a favorite to them who can beſt de-

fine

fine honour: expreſſing to the life, what proprieties beſt concord wth ſo exquiſite a Maiſter-piece.

It is obſerved, that all the *Roman* Emperours were ſingular in ſome peculiar *Art, Science*, or *Myſtery*: and ſuch of the *Patricians* as could not derive their native deſcent (wth the particular relation of their *Anceſtours moſt noble Actions*) were thought unworthy to arrogate any thing to themſelves by their Vertues. Theſe *Romanes* were truely *Noble*, bearing their owne *Annals* ever with them, eyther to caution them of what was to be done, or excite them to proſecute what was by them commendably done: nor knew they *Honour* better limned, or more exactly proportioned, then

then when it was beautified by the internall Ornaments of the Mind. Many I know (*my good Lord*) whose greatnesse is derivative from their *Ancestours* unto themselves, but much Eclypsed by their owne defects: and *Plants* which had a *Noble-Grafter*, use now and then to degenerate. But so apparant is *Your Lustre*, it borroweth no light but from *your-Selfe*; no eminence but from the Lampe of *Your Honour*; which is ever ready to excite the Vertuous to the undertaking of *labours* wel-meriting of their *Countrey*, and generally profitable to all *Estates*. In Subjects of this nature (*my Honourable Lord*) I cannot find any more exact then these *Surveies of Histories*; many we have depraved:

ved: and every laſcivious *Meaſure* now becomes an *Hiſtorian*. No ſtudy in his owne nature more deſerving, yet more corrupted none is there. O then, if thoſe ancient *Romans* (*Mirrours of true Reſolution*) kept their *Armiluſtra* with ſuch ſolemnity, feaſts celebrated at the *Surveyes of their weapons*: We that enjoy theſe *Halcyon* dayes of *Peace* and *Tranquillity*, have reaſon to reſerve ſome Time for the ſolemnizing this *peaceable Armour of Hiſtories*; where we may ſee in what bonds of Duty and Affection we are tyed to the *Almighty*, not only in having preſerved us from many hoſtile incurſions, but in his continuing of his love towards us. We cannot well dijudicate of comforts

but in relation of diſcomforts: Nor is *Peace* with ſo generall acceptance entertained by any, as by them who have ſuſtained the extreamities of *Warre*. Many precedent experiments have we had, and this Iſle hath taſted of miſery with the greateſt; and now revived in her ſelfe, ſhould acknowledge her miraculous preſervation, as not proceeding from her owne power, but derived from the *Supreame influence of Heaven*; whoſe *power* is able to *Erect*, *Support*, *Demoliſh*, and *lay waſt*, as he pleaſeth: *Hinc Timor*, *Hinc Amor!* Hence wee have arguments of *Feare* & *Love*! *Feare from us to God*; *Love from God to us*: Cauſe we have to Feare, that ſubject not our underſtandings

dings to the direct *Line* and *Square* of *Reaſon*, but in our flouriſhing Eſtate (imitating that once renowned *Sparta*) who was ----*Nunquam minus fælix, quam cum fælix viſa* ---; Abuſe thoſe excellent gifts we have received, contemning the menaces of Heaven, and drawing upon our ſelves the *viols of Gods wrath*, heavier diffuſed, becauſe longer delayed. We ſhould re-collect our ſelves, and benefit our ungratefull minds with theſe conſiderations: that our *preſent felicity* be not buried in the ruines of a *Succeeding Calamity*.

Theſe *Hiſtories* (*my noble Lord*) be the beſt repreſentments of theſe motives. And in peruſing Diſcourſes of this *nature* (next to the

but in relation of diſcomforts: Nor is *Peace* with ſo generall acceptance entertained by any, as by them who have ſuſtained the extreamities of *Warre*. Many precedent experiments have we had, and this Iſle hath taſted of miſery with the greateſt; and now revived in her ſelfe, ſhould acknowledge her miraculous preſervation, as not proceeding from her owne power, but derived from the *Supreame influence of Heaven*; whoſe *power* is able to *Erect*, *Support*, *Demoliſh*, and *lay waſt*, as he pleaſeth: *Hinc Timor*, *Hinc Amor!* Hence wee have arguments of *Feare* & *Love*! *Feare from us to God*; *Love from God to us*: Cauſe we have to Feare, that ſubject not our underſtandings

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Sacred Word of God) we are ſtrangely tranſported above humane apprehenſion, ſeeing the admirable Foundations of *Common-weales* planted (to mans thinking) in the Port of ſecurity, wonderfully ruinated: grounding their diſſolution upon ſome precedent *crying ſinne*, which layd their *honour in the Duſt*, aud Tranſlated their *Empire* to ſome (*perchance*) more deſerving people. Here Civill Wars, the Originall cauſes of the *Realmes* ſubverſion: There *Ambition* bred by too long ſucceſſe: here *Emulation* in *Vertue*, the firſt *Erectreſſe* of a flouriſhing *Empire*: There *Paraſites*, the *Scarabees* of *Honour*, the corrupters of *Royally diſpoſed affections*, and the chiefeſt *Engi-*

neres

neres of wrack and confuſion, buzzing ſtrange motions in a *Princes* Eare, occaſioning his *ſhame*, and their *owne ruine*. Here States happy, before they raiſd themſelves to the higheſt type and diſtance of *happineſſe*. And generally obſerve we may in our *Humane Compoſitions*, nothing ſo firme as to promiſe to it ſelfe *Conſtancy*, ſo *continuate* as to aſſure it ſelfe *perpetuity*, or under the Cope of *Heaven*, any thing ſo ſolid as not ſubject to *Mutability*.

This *Survey* (*my Lord*) have I preſumed to Dedicate to *your Honour*, (ſprung from a zealous and affectionate tender) not for any meriting Diſcourſe which it comprehends, but for the generality

of the *Subject*: and Native harmony wherein *Your Noble* diſpoſition ſo ſweetely cloſeth with it.

Your Protection will raiſe it above it Selfe, and make me proud to have an *Iſſue* ſo highly *Patronized:* It preſents it Selfe with *Feare*, may it be admitted with *Favour*: So ſhall my *Labours* be in all duty to *Your Honour* devoted, my Prayers exhibited, and my ſelfe confirmed

Your Lordſhips wholly,

Ri. Brathwait.

TO

To the Understanding READER.

O many idle Pamphleters Write to Thee now a dayes, as thy understanding (in my Judgment) seemes much disparaged. I have ever resolved to have this Motto: *Catoni solus dormio:* But where that *Cato* is, there's the difficulty. Hee is too heavy for the Court, too Wise for the City, and too precise for the Countrey. If my Booke chance to finde him, I know my Subject shall be entertained, and my Petition shall be heard, for, *Auriculos Asini non habet* — To give my Labour but impartiall censure.

How studiously, copiously and usefully this *last Edition* hath beene Enlarged, may appeare by *Digits* or *Signatures* in the Margent every where expressed. Understand thy selfe, *Reader*, and thou understands me: If thou battle at Ordinaries, thou art not for me, thou hast thy Wit in the Platter: for I never knew him wise, that only delighted to

Fare well.

R. B.

This last *Impression* to afford the Noble & Historically affected all generous content; comes forth now otherwise attired then it was at first Published: being revised, corrected, & copiously enlarged.

An Exact Table, or Compendiary; no leſſe plainly then briefly directing to all ſuch Subjects, Stories, Hiſtoricall and Poëticall Relations; with all other intermixt Diſcourſes materially and Methodically contained and continued in this SURVEY OF HISTORY, or NURSERY for GENTRY.

THE *Author* Methodically brancheth theſe his *Hiſtoricall Relations* into a threefold Diviſion.

1. Scope of Hiſtories.
2. Fruit of Hiſtories.
3. The profit redounding to private Families by Hiſtories. } p. 1. p. 2

What the *Scope* of all Hiſtoricall Diſcourſes ſhould be. pag. *ib.*

A full ſurvey of what h'as beene done, with a comparable Relation of what is now done; by conferring perſons and Actions preceeding, with theſe now in preſent enjoying, becomes an excellent benefit redounding from *Hiſtory* to retired Spirits. pag. 4.

Ignorance in writing, (and conſequently, a deficiency in the Relation of any memorable action) became a great wa t to that Imperiall State of *Congo*. pag. 5.

Hiſtory defined and deſcribed. p. 6.

Thoſe moſt fit to governe Nations, who have power to moderate their naturall paſſions. pag. 9.

A Cities triumphant Motto. p. 11.

How amongſt other memorable Monuments; Statues, Imperiall Coins, and Mettalls; an Vrne proportioned to the Ancient Ovall Forme, was lately found neare to the Borough-Towne of *Kendall*: And, which is more remarkable, in a Dale, anciently called *Pot-field*. pag. 14.

Ladies much addicted both to peruſing and compiling of Hiſtories; illuſtrated by ſundry inſtances, to their ſucceeding memory. pag. 16, 17. &c.

The Office of an Hiſtorian. p. 21.

Vſe of Tranſcriptories. p. 27.

A memorable Caveat for all corrupters of Juſtice. pag. *ib.*

What honour the Worlds Monarch did to *Homer*. pag. *ib.*

The Method Poëts reteined in their Hiſtoricall Meaſures, Hiſtoricall Relations. p. 28.

SEverall Fruits of Hiſtory. p. *ib*
A more ſelect and peculiar Fruit of Hiſtory.

History. p.29.
Historians improved by intelligence and perusall of others Labours. p.31. *An errour in the* folio.
The people of *China* reteined a certaine forme of Cyphering long before our invention of Printing. p.32.
Divers memorable Works amongst the ancient have perished, through want of Transcribing to posterity. p.33.
As we have the benefit of Print, so are those Workes to produce some benefit, which wee intend to Print. p.34.
Vse of Travell and Example. p.37.
Imitation in Vertue. p.38.
Excellent Emblemes for deblazoning corrupt Justice. p.39.
True Fortitude described. p.42.
The Great mans Motto. p.44.

WHat Style best serves an History. p.50.
Diversity of affections in Princes. p.51.
Breach of promise held a great dishonour amongst the Ancients. p.53
Memorable Examples in revenging Disloyalty. p.*ib.*
Deserving men punished by the suggestions of ill Offices. p.54.
No end of popular hate. p.*ib.*
Security the ruine of Soveraignty. p.56.
Civill Warres leave in a distracted State the deepest wounds. p.*ib.*
How studious the *Romans* were of Histories. *ib.*
The Excellency of a composed mind. p.58.
A princely Embleme of Mortality. p.61.
Mans Life contracted to a narrow spanne. p.62.

DIvision of Histories; p.64.
1. Divine. 2. Discursive. 3. Morall. 4. Physick. or 5. Mixt.
Such deservingly taxed as corrupt the Text, and racke the Sacred Sense with their enforced Allegories. p.65.
Not to mixe sacred with prophane. p.*ib.*
Corrupters of Scripture. p.*ib.*
Discursive Histories. p.66.
Division of Discursive Histories. p.*ib.*
An imployment of especiall consequence recommended to our *Gentry*, to whom he addresseth this *Survey of History*. p.67.
The Satyricall Historian, and the Sycophant Historian. p.70.
A Rule how to rectifie imitation of Errours; by Historicall Directions. p.73.
States, when seeming most secure from their Enemies, ought to be least secure in their owne confidence. p.74
An apt resemblance of the humors in the body, to the qualities of the minde: or a Relation of the outward humour, to the inward temper. p.75.
Ample Pensions allowed in former times to Historians. p.77.
A modest Caution for all Historians. p.78.
The Commendation of a sincere Historian. p.79.
A free discussing and discarding of fruitlesse Labours, comparing them to the *Mindian* Buildings. p.80.
A Reproofe of Licentious Libells. p.81.
A pretty passage betwixt a Scrivener and a trifling Author. p.84.
A Description of the Satyricall Historian. p.85.

An uſefull Obſervation of the humour of ſeditious and factious Writers of our Time. p. 86.

A true Aphoriſme occaſioned from them. p. ib.

Trajan, that Preſident of Princes for Morall Piety and Royall Clemency, had factious and ſtirring Spirits both in Campe and Court. p. 92.

A Memorable, Chriſtian and Royall Expedition. p. 94.

A miſchievous plot to croſſe that Expedition. p. ib.

Factious Hiſtorians amongſt the Ancient. ib.

AN excellent Meane for an Hiſtorian to obſerve betwixt thoſe Two Extreames, *Aſſentation* and *State-invection*. p. 95.

The Deſcription of a flattering Hiſtorian. p. 96.

Learning of too precious a Memory, to become Mercenary. p. 97.

Schollers are to leave this deſerving Motto of *Solons*, to their Countrey; and if ſhe reward them not, let it redound to her ignominy: "*O my deare* "*Country, both in word and deed have* "*I aſſiſted thee!* p. 98.

Philoſophy, and Poeſy the Flower of Philoſophy, are Receipts againſt all adverſity. p. ib.

Moving Hiſtorians. p. 100

How to move Paſſion, and by what circumſtances. p. ib.

An excellent Art in moving Paſſion, inſtanced in *Appian. Alexandrinus*. p. 101.

A memorable Story of an unnaturall Sonne, and his miſerable end. p. 102.

An excellent Diſcourſe of Imperiall frailty; illuſtrated by Inſtances of deſerving memory. p. 105.

No Empire can confine the heart of her Emperour. p. 106.

Lively Impreſſions of remorſe, drawne from the Sonne to the Father. p. 107.

Comparing of Hiſtories very neceſſary. p. 108.

A difference among the Pagans in their Computation of yeeres. p. ib.

Tranſcriptions oft-times uncertaine and defective. p. 112.

Plutarch ſtyled the *Father of Hiſtorians*, and *prime Founder of Hiſtories*. p. 113.

The variety of Diſcourſe in *Laërtius*. p. ib.

FEigned Relations or Poëticall Hiſtories: Comprizing their Worth in this Impreſſe: "*Divina Poëſis, generoſa Phroneſis*. p. 114.

Homer an Excellent and Heroick Poët; onely ſhadow'd at, becauſe the *Author* underſtood that his Judicious Friend Mr. *T. H.* had long agoe taken in hand (by his great induſtry) to make a Generall (though Summary.) Deſcription of all the Poëts Lives; with the Portratures of their Perſons: to which *He* wiſheth farre more felicity than accrued to his Myſterious Diſcourſe of *Angels*. p. ib. marg.

Labours diſparaged by Tranſlators. p. 115.

Many illiterate of the exacteſt Judgment. p. ib.

The free paſſage of *wanton Works*, the maine Source of corrupting Youth. p. 116.

Vnleſſe Occaſions be prevented, the moſt integrious may be impeached. p. ib.

A juſt reproofe of indiſcreet Tranſlations. p. 118.

The

The frequency and beauty of the *Latine* Tongue. p. 121.

A Relation of *Hercules* Labours. p. 123.

How Invention may ſtand with the contexture of an Hiſtory. p. 124.

Excellent Emblemes ſhadowed under Poëticall Fictions. p. *ib.*

A witty Confutation of Pagan Superſtition. p. 125.

Feigned Hiſtories approved, tending to Inſtruction. p. 128.

Such Hiſtories onely merit that name, which yeeld profit with delight. p. 129.

He falleth upon a juſt reproofe of uſeleſſe Readers of Hiſtories: with ſuch as cull onely grounds for themſelves, to comply with their owne deſires. And theſe He diſtinguiſheth into three ſorts:

Ambitious. } Voluptuous. } Covetous. } p. 130.

The Ambitious mans Object in his Reading. p. *ib.*

The Voluptuous mans Object in his Reading. p. 131.

The Covetous mans Object in his Reading. p. 134.

He reſembles fruitleſſe Readers to uſeleſſe Travellers, who take notice of ſuch things as are moſt frivolous, or which is worſe, vicious. p. 135.

HE deſcends to the ſecond Branch of his Hiſtoricall Diviſion: treating of *Morall Hiſtories*. p. 136.

Morall Hiſtories, or Narrations in ſuch Hiſtories, highly commended; with their Effects. p. 138.

The praiſe of Morall Hiſtory. p. 142

A Caution for our Silken Gallant. p 144.

Plato's Definition of Man inverted. p. *ib.*

The fruit of Morall Reading. p. 145.

Acknowledgment of our Errours, whether it be in our Dialect and forme of ſpeaking, or manner of living: with an ingenuous ſubmitting of our Labours to the free Cenſure of others, argues a great meaſure of Sobriety and Diſcretion in us. p. 146.

Selfe-conceit a blemiſh to the exacteſt Labours: Neither ſhall ſuch *Authors* free themſelves from malicious Cenſures. p. *ib.*

Theſe Times old in Yeeres, but young in Houres. p. 150.

A Reproofe of the Age, in her diſeſteeming Authors: and ſleighting their Labours. p. *ib.*

The Cauſe why Learning is contemned. p. 153.

To whom Death is not terrible. p. 154.

An excellent Obſervation by a Tyrant. p. 155.

Agathocles Emblem renued 31b. is as it is portrai'd to Life. p. 61.

Morality, Mans Anatomy. p. 155.

THE ſeverall kinds of Phyſicall Obſervations. p. 156.

The *Crocodile* and *Ichneumon*, though two Beaſts, in Nature different, are by one peculiar Nation (*Ægypt*) equally reverenced.

Hee continues the Deſcription of the Natures of divers Serpents; extracted from the Hiſtoricall Deſcription of *Affrick*. p. 157.

The Region of *Congo*, by the Teſtimony of *Signor Odoardo*, (a man principally conſequenc'd in thoſe parts) as it is in *Vipers* numerous, ſo are they ſo venemous, that ſuch as are bitten by them doe dye within the ſpace of 24. houres: But the *Ne-*

groes are acquainted with certaine Hearbs that will heale their wounds. p. *ib.*

The various venemous qualities of Spiders cured by Muſick. p. 158.

Excellent Moralls upon thoſe Relations. p. *ib.*

The meaneſt Creatures reteine in them many ſecret qualities. p. 159.

What Princes beſt affected thoſe Studies of diſcovering the Natures of Beaſts, Birds, Serpents, &c. p. 160.

Couragious Dogges preſented by the King of *Albany*, to *Alexander* the Great. p. 161.

An exquiſite Deſcription of the Natures of Beaſts. p. *ib.*

Of the Natures of Plants. p. 162.

Of the Natures of Mines. p. *ib.*

The Knowledge of theſe expedient, though not neceſſary. p. 163.

A juſt complaint againſt ſuch, who conſume the Oyle of their Life, in frequenting *Looſe places*: how to reſtifie this, that their owne Families may become private Academies. p. 165.

The Emperour *Octavian* would not ſuffer his Daughters to be without ſome Art, Science, or Myſtery; ſaying: "Hee might become poore, "and then his Daughters might by "their honeſt Labour relieve both "themſelves and their Father. p. 166.

A tempeſtuous Progeny in a calme time. p. *ib.*

Emblemes of Birds. p. 169.

The Contemplation of the Creature, miniſters admiration in us toward our Creator. p. *ib.*

The very Atheiſt condemned by *Birds* oth' Ayre: and how their Melody is ever mounting with aëry wings to that *Supreme Majeſty*. p. 170.

How miſerable it is, for man to be ſilent in Gods praiſe, when *Birds* become heavenly Quiriſters in ſending forth ſweet Ayres. p. 171.

Creatures ordained to Sobriety and Morality. p. 173.

The diſtinct Natures of Beaſts expreſſed. p. 175.

Thoſe Times wherein the *Roman* Warres rag'd fierceſt, and rung fartheſt, were not knowne to that *Vntrier-like* Invention of murd'ring Ord'nance. p. 176.

He proceeds in applying the Natures of ſeverall other Birds to the ſundry different qualities, or corruptions, rather, in Man. p. 178.

Pleaſant Poëticall Fictions of the Enmity of Birds. p. 180.

A ſweet-ſented Courtier properly reſembled. p. 182.

What the Poëts intended by their Transformations. p. 183.

A Countrey-ſeated Citizen properly reſembled. p. *ib.*

The conſtant Love, and amicable League of Birds amongſt themſelves. p. 184.

Why Birds of Rapine are moſt hated. p. 185.

Why Night-Birds are had in purſuit. p. *ib.*

Reſemblances in Beaſts. p. *ib.*

Severall proprieties reſembling ſeverall perſons. p. 187.

Hee recounts ſundry other Birds, which reteine in them naturally, infallible Notions of the change and various diſpoſition of Weathers: illuſtrated by ſeverall Inſtances. p. 188.

A Divine Contemplation upon Survey had to the loweſt of Gods Creatures. p. 190.

Natures of Serpents, and of Pagan Adorations: wherein Hee referreth the Reader to that Diſcourſe of *Aſia*, and *Affrick*, entituled: *The Fardell of Faſhions*. p. 192.

Of the different Nature, Forme, Feeding,

Ego poſſem de pauperari, tunc filiæ meæ cum labore poſſent ſe nutrire. Hid. Aurelius.

feeding and feature of Serpents, especially upon the River *Nilus*. p.*ib.*

The Worme a motive of Thankfulneſſe; and the beſt Character of humane frailty; inſtanced in a Meditation of wonderfull Piety. p.193.

Diverſity of natures in Fiſhes. p.*ib.*

What rare properties are in the *Ambiyimatare* or the *fiſh of the Rocke*. p.*ib.*

Contention amongſt Fiſhes. 194. p.

The different natures of Fiſhes; and wherein properly they allude to Man. p.*ib.*

The ſtudy of Kings in Plants, Hearbes and Fruits, &c. p.198.

To what eſpeciall Reſemblances theſe Trees be accommodate. p.199.

Teare-ſhedding Trees. p.*ib.*

A reſemblance of Odours, Flowers, and other Beauties to the inward Graces and Ornaments of the Mind. p.200.

He amplifies this diſcourſe of Plants, Hearbes, and Fruits. p.*ib.*

The beſt Lecture any man can read, is to read Man. p.201.

The wonderfull various fruites of the *Palme-tree* in *Congo*. p.*ib.*

The proper ends and accommodations of apparrell. p.203.

Of precious Stones. p.204.

The vertues of Stones deſcribed. p.205.

The patient man compared to the Stone *Galaſia*; *Diamond*, or *Amiantus*. p.*ib.*

Strange effects in Stones. p.206.

Allusions of certaine Stones to internall graces. p.*ib.*

Reſemblances of Precious Stones to thoſe choiſe vertues which ſhould appeare in man: with their diſtinct properties or effects. p.*ib.*

How *Mahomet* the firſt deluded his credulous poſterity, with an opinion of miraculous Sanctity, in that very monument which hee had cauſed to be erected at *Mecha* in his memory: p.210.

Of Minerals: Mines the lower laid, the better when diſcovered: the deeper grounded, the purer when refined. p.213.

The North part famous for Copper-workes; a great improvement to the State and Countrey: with the revivall of thoſe Workes, by Sir *Baſil Brookes* and Captaine *Whitmoore*, men of incomparable induſtry and ingenuity. p.214.

A pretty Caution for a Miſer. p.*ib.*

MIxt Hiſtories. p.215.

Mixt Hiſtories compoſed of all kindes. p.216.

The Commendation of *Mixt Hiſtories*; with inſtances of ſundry Hiſtorians both Ancient and Moderne, who have beene uſefully vers'd therein. p.*ib.*

A ſingular obſervation recommended to Gentlemen in their reading of Hiſtory. p.217.

Plutarchs paraleling of Princes, highly commended. p.*ib.*

Mixt Hiſtories require a generall knowledge, and extend farther than all the reſt. p.220.

A judicious diſtinguiſhing of wits. p.221.

Example of mixt Hiſtories. p.221.

Mixt Hiſtories moſt fruitful. p.222

Occaſions of enfeebling the greateſt and flouriſhingſt States, take breath from theſe three particulars: *Innovation* in *Government*, *Manners*, *Habit*. p.*ib.*

GOVERNMENT. p.*ib.*

MANNERS. p.224.

HABIT. p.225.

Innovation in Government, Manners

MARTI
prælium,
MERCV
RIO pre-
lium, utrum-
que timen-
dum.

nars Habit, occaſions of enfeebling a State, and laying her honour in duſt. p.*ib.*

Cauſes preceedent, directors to the events. p.*ib.*

Diſtinct proprieties in all Hiſtories. p.226.

Inclinations different in Princes. p.*ib.*

An obſervation worthy our note; Subtile Councells ever produce unproſperous ends: And to their Councellours popular hate. Contrariwiſe, Vertue ever attended with a proſperous end. p.227.

Policy her owne ruine, exemplified. p.*ib.*

The miſery of Ambition. p.228.

Greatneſſe can be no Subterfuge to guiltineſſe. p.230.

Vnconſcionable Prollers ſhould be made Sponges of, for example of others. p.*ib.*

What Subject beſt concords with mixt Hiſtories. p.231.

Three things neceſſarily required in Hiſtories of this nature:

1. Truth in relating.
2. Explanation in diſcovering.
3. Judgement in diſtinguiſhing.

} p.232.

Hiſtories ſhould be true, or reteine a reſemblance of truth. p.*ib.*

Probabilities in all *Hiſtoricall* paſſages highly commended. p.233.

Improbabilities in all *Hiſtoricall* paſſages highly diſcommended. p.*ib.*

Not *Cræſus* Treaſure, but a preceedent Diſpleaſure cauſed victorious *Cyrus* to invade *Lydia*. p.234.

Abſurdities in *Hiſtorians* of our time. p.239.

Explanation in diſcovery of cauſes. p.241.

A concord in circumſtances amongſt *Hiſtorians*. p.241

The harmony of *Hiſtorians* in their Relations, though writ in ſeverall Ages. p.242.

The event gathered by foregoing cauſes. p.246.

The Armies ſtrength ballanced by the Generalls worth. p.*ib.*

The indiſcretion of Commanders, the utter ſubverſion of their deſignes. p.*ib.*

The rare expreſſion of a compaſſionate diſpoſition. p.249.

Contempt of Religion, the cauſe of Realmes ſubverſion. p.250.

This, even the very *Heathen* have obſerved: "If rifling Temples were ſacred, what could be holden ſacrilegious? p.*ib.*

Such things as be above us, be not to be argued of us. p.251.

Kingdomes brought to acknowledgment, by the taſte of miſeries. p.252.

Sanctuaries never well frequented, but when dangers approached. p.253.

Feare will ſupple the moſt inſenſible Atheiſt, and inforce him to prayer. p.254.

Cauſes, Directories of events. p.255

A diſpoſition (reflecting upon the Divine Ordinance) yet not limited; an Order, yet not coacted; a meanes, yet not enforced. p.256.

Many Kingdomes much renowned by that meanes, which makes them moſt debaſed: *Selfe-conceit*. p.*ib.*

Honour the beſt, when it is derived from our ſelves. p.257.

Degeneration. p.258.

The praiſe of ſuch who raiſe a Family by their owne demerits: And this procured by three meanes: p.259

1. Gowne.
2. Sword.
3. Mechanick Art.

} p.*ib.*

Emulation

Emulation amongst men of Note. p. *ib.*

Some of our best Philosophers, Orators, Rhetoricians and Historians, though they were not *Coëtaneans* with those Princes in living with them: yet were their Workes, after their decease, highly endeared and honoured by them. p. 261.

An Exemplary Lesson for all *Ambi-dexters*. p. *ib.*

The wonderfull establishing of the *Turkish* Empire. p. 266.

Arguments of the approaching Subversion of the *Turkish State*. p. 267.

Concealed Reasons not to be searched. p. *ib.*

We are not to pry too curiously into the sealed Cabinet of *Gods Counsell*. p. *ib.*

That Sacred-secret Consistory is not to be searched (because sealed) with too much Curiosity. p. 268.

An excellent Receipt for all such as labour of too much *Singularity*. p. 270.

Dijudication of Histories. p. *ib.*

Two sorts of Discourses eclypsing the glory of an Historian:

1. Sensuality.
2. Impertinency. } p. 271.

Light and wanton Workes are to be exiled in every Civill State. p. 273.

Learning never but then deserves the *Laurell*, when it is vertuously fruitfull. p. 274.

Chymick Opinionists. p. 275.

State Stigmatists. p. 276.

Factious Questionists. p. ib.

Merippus his free reproofe of rigid Censurers; whose judgment onely consists in razing Labours, and disheartning Authors: while their innocent'st Lines are oft misconstrued; their Sence corrupted. p. 280.

Two sorts of sinister Readers of History:

1. Curious.
2. Calumnious. } p. 286.

An opinionate Reader, an incompetible Censor of anothers Labour. p. *ib.*

Deliberation needfull in Histories of maine consequence. p. 287.

Discovery of Vices abroad, many times instruct us in the very same at home. p. *ib.*

Many men of matureſt Experience, have and doe give way to sensuall obedience. p. 288.

He holds him for stupid, who for feare of Death, dyes all his life-long: And him for wicked, who lives without feare of it, as if there were none at all. p. 289.

Forraigne vices become naturalized, and made ours by imitation. p. 291.

Strange Novelties draw attention, move approbation, if probability be mixed in the Discourse. p. 294.

Opinions drawne from divers Authors should be reconciled. p. 295.

A double defect: { 1. Obstinate. 2 Ignorant. } p. *ib.*

Words should be accommodate to the Matter, not the Matter to the Words. p. *ib.*

What dresse both for choice of Words, and disposition of Phraze, best becomes an History. p. 296.

Whatsoever tastes of Affectation, digresseth from this Disposition. p. *ib.*

Tragicall Acts breathing nought but passionate Ayres, amply illustrated by those inhumane cruelties lately committed by the *Groats* and *Curlings* in *Germany*. p. 300.

Benzo's sad Relations in the Island of *Hispaniola*. *Benz.* in Hist. *Ind. ib.*

The Worlds Anatomy. p. 302.

A witty conceit of a bold Artizan. p. 305.

A modeſt diſcovery of the abuſes of the time; how they are to be ſearched; how cured. p. *ib.*

A three-fold Diſcourſe branched into a three fold Obſervance; ſhewing how: 1. Some Bookes are to be taſted. 2. Some to be ſwallowed. 3. Few to be chewed and digeſted. p. 307.

Three Obſervances worthy our Conſideration in Reading:
1. Willingneſſe.
2. Diligence. } p. 308.
3. Intelligence.

Vſe of thoſe three Obſervances. p. *ib.*

The Method proſecuted. p. 309.

VSe of Hiſtory. p. *ib.*

The true Characterall Portraiture of a *Miſer*. p. 310.

His inſatiate deſire of increaſing his State; his uſeleſſe ends in diſpoſing his Store. Some whereof we have here lately had; who, as they abridged Nature of her due, and dyed in her Debt; ſo they could not performe the Office of Nature long before their Death. p. 312.

The Miſers profit by *Hiſtory*. p. 314

A Miſer cannot be rich. p. *ib.*

A Miſer his owne Executioner. p. 315.

A Contrariety in two different diſpoſitions. p. *ib.*

The Liberall mans Aphoriſme. p. 316.

The Character of a Liberall man. p. *ib.*

Examples of Liberality. p. *ib.*

The bounteous diſpoſitions of many noble Perſonages *Hiſtorically* amplified. p. 317.

Examples of opportunate bounty, extracted from the Store-houſe of *Hiſtory*. p. *ib.*

It cloſeth with more Majeſty to make Kings, than to be a King. p. 320

An Vſurer never found his Countries friend. p. 324.

An Vſurer bountifull againſt his will. p. *ib.*

Examples of bounty amongſt the *Syracuſans*. p. *ib.*

A Deſcription of the City *Agrigentum*, planted on that flowry Mountaine *Agragas* in *Sicily*. p. 325.

A memorable Inſtance of *Hoſpitality*. p. *ib.*

Miſerable ends of Miſers. p. 326

The Prodigalls humour diſplayed. p. 327.

His Faunes or Followers, his Spunges. p. 328.

His Fathers injurious doings, his undoing: his raiſing, his ruine. p. 330.

The Young mans Maze. p. *ib.*

Our Predeceſſors Vertues, Motives of imitation. *ib.*

Hiſtories, beſt diſcoverers of Errours. p. 331.

Inſtances of famous Delinquents. p. *ib.*

Hiſtory the beſt Touch-ſtone to dijudicate 'twixt what is good and ill. p. 332.

How to be Maſters over our owne affections. p. 333.

Admirable effects drawne from *Hiſtory*, in ſubduing our affections. p. *ib.*

No malady but may finde a Receipt to cure her, or allay her diſtemper by the helpe of *Hiſtory*. p. 334.

Paſſions proceeding from braine-ſick Lovers, &c. p. 338.

A Lovers *Ecphoneſis*: cloſing with Loves *Metamorphoſis*. p. *ib.*

What honour is to be aſcribed to Continence.. p. 339.

The *Hiſtory* of the *Sybarite Crathis*.

this. p.342
How ſoone a precious name is loſt; with what difficulty regain'd. p.343.
The pleaſure of *Senſe* ſhort; the purchaſe ſhame. p.*ib.*
The fall of Paraſites. p.345.

PArticular profit drawne from Hiſtory, to particular perſons: being the third Branch methodically ariſing from this *Survey.* p.*ib.*
What fabulous *Hiſtories* more ſuffered than approved. p.*ib.*
The *Hiſtory* of *Don Quixotte*, a witty invention, but full of diſtraction. p.346.

HIs Judgment of divers approved *Hiſtorians*; extracted from the beſt Authors. p.347.
Joſephus commended. p.355.
Circumſtances in the *Iewiſh* Warre give an excellent beauty to the Diſcourſe. p.*ib.*
Veſpatian is ſaid to have his Tents firſt pitched on Mount *Olivet*, where our Saviour was taken. p.*ib.*
The judgment of God in that *Hiſtory* moſt remarkable. p.356.
A commemoration of Divine Hiſtories. p.*ib.*
Inſolency puniſhed. p.*ib.*
An excellent Example. p.357.
Puniſhment alluding to the condition of the fact. p.*ib.*
Blaſphemy puniſhed p.*ib.*
The like exemplary puniſhments inflicted on other Delinquents. p.358.
The corruption of *Maximinus* body ſeconded the Tyrants cruelty: diſpatching ſuch with his ſtinch, whom he had reſerved for that death in his healthfull eſtate. p.359.
An uſuall meanes uſed by the Ethnicks of reclaiming drunkards from their beſtiall filthineſſe. p.361.
Every Vice briefly decyphered. p.362.
Oeconomicall *Hiſtories*, teaching *private Families* how to be diſpoſed. p.*ib.*
Neceſſary inſtructions for all private eſtates. p.*ib.*&p.363,364,365.
Hiſtorians moſt profitable to the Common-weale. p.365.
Enmity amongſt *Hiſtorians* themſelves. p.366.
A compendious diſcourſe of the generall profit of *Hiſtory*. p.367.
An apt ſimilitude comparing *Hiſtory* to a Banquet. p.368.
A review of thoſe former collections, applying them to our preſent occaſions. p.374.
1. *Hiſtory* compared to a Banquet. p.*ib.*
2. To a Field. p.383
3. To Builders. p.385.
Hiſtory to a diſcreete Eare, the delightfulſt harmony. p.381.
An exact *Hiſtorian*, a ſelect companion. p.382.
Inſtruction the light of underſtanding. p.388.
Hiſtories, Mirrors of all States. p.389
Hiſtories muſt not partialize. p.389.
Hiſtory the beſt *Herald* for deblazoning Vertue or Vice. p.390.
Three eſpeciall qualities ſuiting well with the condition of any Eminent Perſon. p.391
Rome in her decay, comparable to the *Phœnix*. p.395.
A Chriſtian conſideration of the Power and Majeſty of God. p.*ib.*

PRofit derived from *Hiſtories* to Private Families. *p.*395.
The deſcription of a Mariners danger. *p.*396.
The Souldiers diſcipline by *Hiſtories*. *p.ib.*
A Motive of thankfulneſſe, derived from a commemoration of mans irreparable miſery, without Gods ineffable mercy. *p.*397.
Foure ſeverall Philoſophers aſcribed Deities to the foure Elements. *p.ib.*
All Arts may be reduced to noble attempts and condigne fortunes by their owne profeſſions. *p.*402.
The diſcovery of Royal Errors; where, in former times *ſubjects* to their *Princes*, became Slaves to their Errors. *p.ib.*
Machiavels Poſition *p.*483.
No Eſtate ſecure without the protection of a Supreme Power. *p.ib.*
Examples, beſt motives to piety, confirmed by the Orator *Demoſthenes*. *p.*408.
No Image ſo neare to life, as the *Hiſtory* of mans life. *p.*410.
Hiſtory directs man in the progreſſe of his life. *p.*413.
Hiſtory prepares man in his paſſage from life. *p.*414.
The concluſion of this *Survey* cloſed in this ſerious approvement: "*Hiſtoricall* Relations, become Re-"cords of Publick and Private Ex-"periments. *p.*415.

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A SVRVEY Of HISTORY: *OR,* A NURSERY for the GENTRIE.

IN the SURVEY OF HISTORIES, the true Relators of things done; with a probable Collection of things to come, by precedent events: I thought good compendiously to contract some especiall Caveats, as well for observance in Historicall Discourses, as for prevention of such inconveniences (or exorbitances rather) as happily might occurre in such Narrations. First therefore I have propounded to my selfe this Method, (by way of inference) to Describe the true scope

A three-fold Division.

1. Scope of Histories.

2. Fruit of Hiſtories.

at which all Hiſtories ought to ayme, and to which, they ſhould principally be directed. Secondly, to diſtinguiſh of ſeverall uſes and Fruites of Hiſtories: The end whereof being exactly ſet downe, a dijudicating power may eaſily collect from what Subject the choiceſt and ſelectedſt Fruits may be deduced. Thirdly, the profit which redounds to every State, either Ariſtocraticke, Democraticke, or Monarchicke, by the true and underſtanding uſe of Hiſtories.

3. The profit redounding to private Families by Hiſtories.

THE true uſe and ſcope of all Hiſtories ought to tend to no other purpoſe, than a true Narration of what is done, or hath beene atchieved either in Forraigne or Domeſticke affaires; with a modeſt Application (for preſent uſe) to caution us in things Offenſive, and excite us to the management of imployments in themſelves generous, and worthy imitation.

For the true deſcription of Hiſtory, as it hath ever beene held the *Treaſury of Time*, in which were laid up and depoſited the Actions and glorious Exploits of preceding *Worthies*: As wee would be very loath, that any Evidence importing our private eſtates, ſhould be either diminiſhed or darkened: ſo much more, in what might conſequently tend to the prudent mannagement of publicke Eſtates, to ſuffer the leaſt obſcurity, would argue in us either an apparant diſeſteeme of our Prædeceſſors actions, or a remiſneſſe in our ſelves, to neglect ſo ſpreading or propagating

a Se-

a Seminary; which, as former times recommended to our care, ſo ſhould it be our care by a diſcreet circumſpection, to preſerve.

Let us then reflect a little upon the *Vtility* of it, beſides thoſe incomparable delights, which to a modeſt and ſerious judgement, are highly reputed.

Firſt, ſhould theſe *Annals* periſh, what more could the merit or approvement of Vertue gaine to her ſelfe, but what the injury of Times uſually throws upon deſerving perſonages, *Oblivion*? No difference betwixt the deſperate attempts of an impiouſly-audacious, and odiouſly-perfidious *Cateline*, and a noble State-affecting *Vtican*. Nay, we ſhould loſe thoſe Eminent Types and Copies of all imitable Morality, ſhould wee in rubbiſh bury the Surviving Records of *Hiſtory*. We ſhall heere ſee, what even Morall Naturall men obſerved, and how conſtantly they ſtood in defence of what their glorious lives have propoſed. No danger ſo apparant, no threat ſo truculent, no Opponent ſo over-awing or violent, which could weaken their Reſolves, or make them Recreants to their juſt Deſignes. The whole progreſſe of their Lives, as it was a continued Line, whoſe period ever cloſed with Honour: ſo were their Deaths no leſſe memorable, and in their *ſetting* ſent forth the beſt luſtre.

How ſweetly then reliſh theſe Diſcourſes to a retired Spirit? who, withdrawne from imployment either through infirmity of Age, weakneſſe of Health, or diſ-reſpect of Time, may take a

An excellent benefit redounding frō *Hiſtory* to retyred ſpirits.

full Survey of what ha's beene done, with a comparable Relation of what is now done: and ſo by conferring Perſons and Actions preceding, with thoſe now in preſent enjoying; may collect the viciſſitude of times, and become an Agent by reading, what they could not aſpire to by perſonall action.

And with what eaſie ſweetneſſe may this be acquired? With what a pleaſing privacy purchaſed? They need not expoſe themſelves to the perills of a feare-ſurprized Campe, nor the ſurging billows of a raging Ocean: Their private Arbour may be their Centinell; no Alarmes to diſturbe them, no feares within, nor foes without to diſtemper them. And having taken a full and free peruſall of former States, with the ſtrange grounds of their riſing, and their unexpected *Cataſtrophes* in their declining: what ſingular uſes may they propound to themſelves, by conſideration had to the mutable and anxious Conditions of all times: ſeeing how even thoſe Republicks, which premiſed to themſelves moſt ſecurity, were enforced to runne into other channells, and to have their memories drowned in them, when they had mounted to the higheſt pinne and pitch of Felicity: And theſe to diſcourſe of with a confident judgement, as if they had beene Actors perſonally in theſe Scenes: what uſefull knowledge may it beget to themſelves, what delight to their Hearers?

Secondly, ſhould theſe memorable Records be loſt, which have onely power to keepe men alive,

alive, when ſeeming dead, and by the Revivall of their Actions, to produce in ſtirring ſpirits a deſire of emulating their Vertues; the very forme and Method of ancient governments, whoſe platformes have not a little conduced to the managing and marſhalling of preſent Eſtates, ſhould be utterly razed and extinguiſhed.

What excellent Law-givers have former Ages yeelded? what uſefull Lawes have they enacted? How ſtrongly theſe laboured to preſerve, what their care had ſtudied and publiſhed? How ſtrictly moderate became many States, which diſcreet Sobriety ever redounded to their ſucceeding glory?

Nor did they, though their darkned Judgements could never reach to a true and infallible conceit of *Eternity*; ſhew the leaſt oſtentation in the courſe or purſuite of their Actions, or State-directions. Their deſire was to expreſſe a reall goodneſſe, without erection of Statues, to memorize them to after-ages. Honour they ſought not, being conferred on them unſollicited, and diſvalued by them, when freely offered. Theſe, *Hiſtories* commend, and tender them to our obſervation, as *Morall Preſidents* deſerving our imitation.

Can we then eye theſe, and conceive no deſire of rectifying our ſelves? Shall Morall men, who confined their hopes to *Elizian Chymera's*, outſtrip us, who retaine in us higher hopes, and make *Eternity* our Spheare? Shall we peruſe theſe without a glowing bluſh, when we conſider what beame-

This that Imperiall State of *Congo*, had ſhe beene ſenſible of her owne wants, might have perceived; who keeps no *Hiſtories* of their ancient Kings, nor any memoriall of the Ages paſt, becauſe they can not write. They meaſure their times generally by the Moones: they know not the Houres of the Day, nor of the night: but they uſe to ſay *In the time of ſuch a Man, ſuch a thing happened.*

beamlings of a divine Intellect darted themſelves on theſe, in compariſon of that pure Diaphanicall light which ſo glorioufly ſhines upon us?

Melanct. in Epiſt. ad tert. Lib. Chron. Carion.

He deſcribed ***Hiſtory*** in a juſt modell and proportion, who tearm'd it ***the very Picture, Emblem, or Mirror of Mankind:*** wherein are to bee ſeene the perplexities and perills of Empires, and of the ***Church it ſelfe:*** upon Survey whereof, and an equall reflexe to our ſelves, we may learne how to demeane us in a modeſt way, both in reſpect of a civill Society, and politick government, as likewiſe in the Church Militant; eſpecially, by taking notice of our owne and others infirmities, bethinking alwayes of this, how that Diviſions from what Origen or Source ſo ever they ſpring, are not ſo ſoone quenched; and how for the moſt part, long continued Warres, and mutations of States are ſucceſſively derived from one breach. Theſe, former times have ever obſerved; and by their Obſervations happily ſucceeded. They made uſe of ***Hiſtories***, as principall directions for State-government. They collected what was imitable, and they reduced them to uſe. They found no State ſo ſecure from foes abroad, or feares within, as it felt not many times the hoſtile incurſion of the one, as well as the private intruſion of the other. This made them more ſecur'd, becauſe others miſhaps kept them from holding themſelves too ſecure. They obſerved the occaſions of riſing States, with the probable reaſons of their decline. They found a period to the moſt flouriſhing Empires, and gath'red

vid. Brit. Orig.

thence,

thence, (with a free and ingenuous acknowledgment, their dependance upon another more abſolute independent power) no policy nor humane providence could divert, what that Divine Soveraignty had decreed.

This the prudent'ſt and powerfull'ſt have ſeene inſtanced, and in this Worlds Theatre preſented, and in the diſcovery of them have trembled. Fooliſh wiſdome they found in whatſoever was humane: when many times, their owne ſtrength became the ruine of their State; by converting their owne powers, and turning the edge of their owne Swords upon their owne bleeding Intralls; as if they had aymed at nothing more, than to lay their owne Provinciall honour in the Duſt, and to raiſe a new fabricke of Eſtate to ſome other ſurreptitious Nation. What variety of Examples, Stories will afford us of this nature, I appeale to the Candid and impartiall Judgement of any pure or uncorrupted Cenſor.

Againe, to take a view of the mutable condition of all States; and how Victorious Princes, whoſe Motto's ſeemed to vie with the Herculean *Non ultra*; became eyther perſonall Actors of their owne Tragedies, or viſible Spectators of their unexpected miſeries: And therein more unhappy, becauſe once happy, would afford no leſſe matter of admiration, then motives of compaſſion. *Mithridates* that invincible Prince and incomparable Artiſt, even Hee, who had diſcomfitted in divers ſet battailes, *Lucius Craſſus*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, being at laſt

laſt overcome by *Scylla*, *Lucullus*, and utterly by *Pompey*, for all his Infinite Treaſure in *Talauris*; thoſe many Confederate Princes which admired his Valour, interpoſing themſelves to prevent his danger, and the ample boundiers of his Kingdome ſo largely extended; had for all this, his body (the poore remainder of ſo great glory) buried at the charge of the *Romans*, being ſent by *Pharmaces* in Gallies to *Pompey*.

Nor ſhall we have onely here preſented as in a Chryſtalline Mirror, theſe Tragicke Diſaſters of eminent Princes, whoſe falls, as they were ſteps to others riſing, ſo were they excellent Lectures of Inſtruction to all ambitiouſly aſpiring; but likewiſe the infelicity of ſuch who adheered to them: yet, behold the miſery of Greatneſſe! Neither could others miſeries informe them, nor their precipitious falls caution them, nor thoſe numerous Inſtances of mutability recall them. Diadems were more attractive Objects than to be loſt through feare, or rejected for a powerfull Competitor. Soveraignty is a taking baite; yet is it ever accompanied with hopes and feares. This cauſed *Antonies* Angel to be affraid of *Octavius* Angel.

Albeit, ſome, whoſe ſolid Judgments or bitter Experience had wrought deeper impreſſions in their compoſed tempers, were ſo farre alienated from this conceit of admiring Greatneſſe, or titular State, as they conceived nothing more miſerable than to be ſo ſurcharged. *Seleuchus* being King, and one of an extenſive power, was

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wont to ſay, that if a man knew with what cares a Diadem was clogged, he would not take it up though it lay in the Streete.

When the *Romans* had deſpoiled *Antiochus* of all *Aſia*, he gave them great thanks, ſaying, *they had rid him of many inſupportable cares.*

This princely compoſure of affections wrought no leſſe effects upon *Diocleſian*, who voluntarily relinquiſhed the flouriſhingſt Empire in the world.

Nor can we eſteeme any perſon more truely deſerving Honour, than he, who can with a compoſed minde and cheerefull affection, as if he were ingaged to no ſuch glorious yoake, ſuffer himſelfe to forgo it, and retaine ſtill the ſame ſpirit, when in the eye of the World he ſeemes moſt dejected. A Philoſopher perceiving *Dionyſius* to ſit merrily in the Theater, after he was expulſed his Realme, condemned the people and baniſhed him: Holding thoſe more fit to governe States, who could moderate their affections, attemper their paſſions, and diſcover a cheerefull countenance in troubled waters.

Thoſe moſt fit to governe Nations, who have power to moderate their naturall paſſions

Neither were many of thoſe ancient Heroës, ſo much tranſported with an ambitious deſire of Soveraignty, as they were with the apprehenſion of a glorious Victory. This made that fluent, but affective Orator, ſo much enlarge himſelfe, in the recitall of thoſe noble and memorable actions done by *Themiſtocles* and *Epaminondas*: which he continues in this ample Memoriall to their ſucceeding glory. "The Sea ſhall ſooner over-

Cic. Tuſc. Queſt. lib. 1.

"whelme the Iſle it ſelfe of *Salamine*, than it "ſhall drench the remembrance of the *Salamine* "*Tryumph*; and the Towne of *Leuctra* in *Boetia* "ſhall ſooner be razed, than the remembrance "of the Field there fought, forgotten; exempli-"fi'de in the proweſſe of *Themiſtocles* and *Epa-*"*minondas*.

Their aymes were confin'd to their owne Fame, or Countries Renowne: their ambition was not to governe, but to conquer; as others of more remiſſe and retardate ſpirits, rather to governe than conquer: which diverſity of diſpoſitions may be found portrayed to life upon the *Survey* of *Hiſtory*.

So as, it pleaſed the Orator to call *Hiſtory* the Glaſſe, or Mirror of mans life; charactering the whole compaſſe of this Univerſe, the ſtates of Princes, events of Warres, conqueſts of renowned Captaines, even all Deſignes, either publick or private, by a ſuccinct Deſcription, or Map rather, expreſſing every particular Affaire: and what (as a worthy Hiſtorian hath obſerved) can be imagined more worthy admiration, then in a ſafe and retired Port, in the Harbour of ſecure Reſt, in our private Repoſes, to ſee there a Prince beleagured with many Hoſtile Opponents, ſtraight by miraculous meanes defeating them, and by his owne policy, (the ſupreme purpoſe of the Almighty) to plant himſelfe in tranquility, where (as farre as humane Apprehenſion could reach) nought but imminent ruine could be expected: there a City by wiſe and diſcreet govern-

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ment wonderfully preſerved: here amidſt concealing or ſhadowing rather of the Conquerours exploits by his moderation in conquering, implies how he could beare his fortunes, if he were conquered. We may read no State in her ſelfe ſo ſecure, but may be ſhaken; exemplified well in *Rome*, the Governeſſe of ample Territories, and now made ſubject to thoſe which were her ſubjects: No Prince of ſo proſperous imployments, ſo ſucceſſive proceedings, or generall forces, but either vanquiſhed at home or abroad: abroad by forraigne powers, or at home by his owne illimited affections; inſtanced in that great and potent Prince of *Macedon*, who (though Prince of the whole world) could not play Prince of his little world, being ſlaved to diſtempered paſſions. No City but ſore haraſed, if not razed. Nor could that Italian *Tryacala* (which taking her denominate from the *Greeke*, comprehends all beauty) ſtand againſt the injury of Time, or withſtand the battry of all aſſaults; which makes me taxe that City of Arrogance, (whereof *Hyppolitus* ſpeaketh in his Booke of the *Increaſe of Cities*) upon the gates whereof was this Impreſſe ingraven, *Intacta manet*. To ſee theſe States ſo well and lively decoloured, cannot conferre leſſe delight (being grounded on Vertue, where all true and perfect delights bee ſeated) than the Relation of the *Troian* Affaires (being made by ſo excellent and experimented an Hiſtorian as *Ithacus*) delighted that chaſte *Greeke Penelope*: *Theſeus* Travels *Ariadne*, or *Alcides* Labours

The Cities Motto tryumphant.

bours *Omphale*. But to the uſe of Hiſtory.

Hiſtory being a Mint of profit and delight, the ſeaſoning of more ſerious ſtudies, the Reporter of caſes adjudged by event, the enterlude of our haps, the image of fortune, the compendiary directer of affaires, the repreſenter of humane ſucceſſe, the infallible character (by colation had with things paſt, and things to come) of ſucceeding events: ſhould not aime at laſcivious ſtories, amorous ſubjects (unleſſe by way of digreſſion to ſmooth a ſerious diſcourſe with a modeſt inſertion of mirth) but to proſecute the argument of the Hiſtory without frivolous Ambages, or impertinent circumſtances. Affectation ill beſeemes an Hiſtorian: For he ſhould underſtand what office he ſupports; not any thing drain'd from his owne invention, but to performe the charge of a ſincere relation. I approve of his opinion that thought, Invention to be leaſt needfull to an Hiſtorian, but Diſpoſition more than to any. It is ſufficient for an Hiſtorian to expreſſe what he hath read or ſeene, truly, without concealing any thing, in partiall reſpect to any perſon, making truth the period of his diſcourſe. The Philoſopher thought a poore man was not to be an Hiſtorian: for neceſſity would inforce him to temporiſe and obſerve humors: Nor a rich man, for he had his eye fixed upon his eſtate, and durſt not un-rip great mens errors, leſt he ſhould loſe by his labours. But I diſapprove his cenſure, and refell it with anothers opinion of the ſame ſect: *Si dives, de fortunis & infor-*

infortunijs ſcribat, ſic enim utriuſque fortunæ ſortem æquius ferat. Si pauper, de fortunis ſcribat, ut cum eas attigerit, melius eas regat & teneat. The error of judgement ſhould not be appropriated either to want, or eminence of fortune: for ſo ſhould we ſubject the inward to the outward, the intellectuall power to the externall varniſh; preferring the eye of the body before the light of the minde. Yet to intermeddle in eſtates, ſo much as to diſable them (by extenuating their powers) leſſening their revenewes, or eclypſing their priſtine honor and eminence, by mentioning ſome inſucceſſive events they have had by warre, or other occurrents, I wholly diſallow it; proceeding either from private envy to the State, or from malevolent nature (unfitting for ſo good a profeſſor) apt to ſting all, becauſe an enemy to himſelfe and all. States ſhould not be layd too open: but when occaſion ſerves to deſcribe the ſeates of Countries, Regions, &c. or to touch the manners and conditions of inhabitants, how they live, and to what trades moſt inclined, with whom they have commerce, or the like, will not derogate any thing from the *Scope* of an *Hiſtory*, or any way imply a digreſſion. It is thought (and that by the Authentick'ſt Hiſtorians) that *Cæſar*, by the deſcription of *Volateranus*, which he made of *Britaine*, declaring how the people were ſavage, and unapt for military diſcipline, the places of defence unprovided: and then ſhewing how fruitfull the whole Iſland was, repleniſhed with all neceſſaries, was induced to take his expedition into

Britaine, and to conquer it, though prevented by a *Brutus*, who, to rid *Rome* of his tyranny, reſtored poore *Britaine* to her liberty, for his journey was ſtayed by Death.

Albeit, what ſoveraignty the Romans had in this Iland, may appeare by thoſe numerous Cohorts, Colonies, and Regiments diſpoſed and diſperſed throughout moſt places of conſequence in this Kingdome. Beſides thoſe many different Coines, Monumentall inſcriptions, ancient Sculptures and Impreſſures; all which confirme their long reſide, command and plantation with us.

Antiquities of this kinde are very frequent, eſpecially in the Northerne parts; where ſundry ſorts of Mettalls, Stones, with much Art and Curioſity ingraven, are oft-times found in the ruines of ſome demoliſhed Fort, or turn'd up with the plough-ſhare; as an Urne, proportioned to the ancient Ovall forme, was lately found neare to the Borough-Towne of *Kendall*: wherein were bones, ſome ſolid, others turn'd to aſhes; all whice imply what neare ſociety, and continued corroſpondence they held with us.

Nor ſhould I with more free election or affectionate devotion, recommend any Stories to the *Survey* of our *Gentry*, than theſe, which informe them in the knowledge of their owne Soile: wherein they ſhall finde many memorable Relations, worthy their obſervance and retention. For, albeit we eſteeme him no man of Travaile, unleſſe he hath travers'd forraigne Countries, and converſed with them both in their Language and Manners;

Manners: yet ſhall I ever hold this for an undoubted poſitive Doctrine; that ſhould wee finde a man who had enter'd commerce with the whole World, could diſcourſe of the diverſity of all Tongues, and returne their proper diſtinct Idioms: yea, ſuch an one, as had ingratiated himſelfe by his Gentile garbe in the affection of all Eſtates; and in a poliſh'd formall diſcourſe could tell you, how hee had ſeene *Iudaßes* Lanterne at *St. Denniſſes*, the *Epheſian Diana* in the *Louure*, the great Veſſell at *Heidelberg*, the Amphi-Theatre at *Vliſmos*, the Pyramids of *Ægypt*, with the incredible manner of their Obits, the Stable of the great *Mogol*, or the Solemnities of *Mecha:* yet were all theſe generall Notions of forraigne States uſeleſſe, being eſtranged from the knowledge of his owne Native Soile. Yea, ſhould hee inlarge his diſcourſe in all theſe, by expreſſing himſelfe in ſuch a Dialect, as might deſervingly beget an Admiration in the Hearer, yet deſcending to his owne, and ſhewing himſelfe moſt ignorant, wherein hee ſhould be beſt experienc'd, he could merit no leſſe than juſt reproofe: in ſo undervaluing his owne, as to publiſh himſelfe ſufficiently read in all places but at home. An Engliſh fault I muſt confeſſe; whoſe condition it is to admire nothing more, nor with an eager affectation to purſue ought more, than the fancies and ſhadows of Strangers: Whoſe faſhions bee they never ſo unbeſeeming, they cannot want our imitation, becauſe introduced by a ſtrange Nation. Theſe reſemble Painters, whoſe Art

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it is to make faces, but to forget their owne.

Nor is it my purpoſe in this, to taxe the commendable Travailes of ſuch, who with much danger and hazard have improved their owne knowledge, and benefited others by their undertakings in aſſayes of this nature. Travaile I know to be the moſt accompliſhed ornament of a Gentleman: enabling him both for buſineſſe and diſcourſe: but to travaile ſo farre from our owne, as to make our ſelves ſtrangers to what neareſt concernes us, argues a neglect in our ſelves, by a contempt or diſ-eſteeme of our owne.

Wee ſhall read in all Records of antiquity, with what heate and height of deſire, all ſuch perſons as intereſſed themſelves in compiling any Hiſtoricall relations, ever pitcht upon deſcription of their owne Countreys: with a continuation of ſuch Heroick acts, exployts, and deſignes, as might conferre a deſerving luſtre upon her. Meane time, it was not the leaſt of their care to beſtow an impartiall penne in the deblazon of every perſon or action. Their greateſt ambition was, to magnifie truth: to cloath vertue with her owne native habit, and diſcover the deformity of vice, were the ſubject never ſo eminent, whereof they wrote.

Ladies much addicted both to peruſing & compiling of Hiſtories.

Neither were theſe Taſks onely for maſculine *Spirits*: for many eminent Ladies were uſually vers'd in theſe ſtudies, to their honours, and the admiration of their Succeſſors. *Zenobia* after the death of *Odonatus* her deare ſpouſe, though a Barbarian

Barbarian Queene, yet by her reading of both Romane and Greeke Hiſtories, ſo mannaged the State after the deceaſe of her husband, as ſhee retained thoſe fierce and intractable people in her obedience : and in a Princely privacy reſerving ſome ſelect houres for peruſall of Hiſtory, which held good correſpondence with her Majeſty, ſhe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Orientall* Hiſtories : a taske of no leſſe difficulty than utility, whereby ſhe attained the higheſt pitch of wiſedome and authority. The like inward beauty might be inſtanced in many other eminent Perſonages of that Sexe; whoſe excellent compoſures in this kinde ſurvive the vading period of time; as that vertuous *Cornelia*, mother to the victorious *Gracchus*; who, as ſhe was an Exemplar or Mirrour of goodneſſe and chaſtity, ſo by the improvement of her Education to her children, ſhe expreſt her ſelfe a noble Mother, in ſeaſoning their unriper yeares in the ſtudies of Hiſtory, Poeſy, and Philoſophy. Next her, *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife; *Cleobula*, daughter to *Cleobulus* one of the ſeaven Sages of *Greece*. The daughter of *Pythagoras*, who after his death governed his Schoole; excelling in all Hiſtoricall diſcourſes, which wee here ſo much commend; and afterwards erecting a Colledge of Virgins, ſhe became governeſſe or guardineſſe over it. What ſhall I ſay of *Theano* daughter to *Metapontus*, a diſciple of the ſame Sect? What of *Phemone*, who firſt gave life to an Heroïcke Verſe : and in exquiſite compo-

ſures recounted the memorable actions and occurrents of her time? what of *Sulpitia*, *Calenus* his wife, who left behind her moſt ſoveraigne precepts touching wedlocke, with the relations of that age, in a moſt proper and elegant ſtile? And *Hortenſia* daughter to that moſt famous Orator *Hortenſius*, who for copiouſneſſe of ſpeech, gravity or weight of ſentence, gave a living luſter to her lines, a ſucceeding fame to her workes? And *Edeſia* borne at *Alexandria*, one of ſuch learning, ſweetneſſe of diſpoſition, as ſhe was highly admired by thoſe that lived in her time: and amongſt other excellences, ſingularly read in Hiſtories; then held a ſtudy worthy the entertainment of nobleſt Ladies? And *Corinnathia*, who is reported to have ſurpaſſed the Poet *Pindarus* in artfull and exact compoſures: contending with him five ſeverall times, as may be probably gathered by the teſtimonies of the ancient, for the Garland or Coronet, uſually beſtowed upon ſuch glorious followers and favourites of the Muſes? And *Paula*, *Seneca's* wife, a Matron not onely improved by his inſtructions, but highly enriched by the benefit of her owne proper ſtudies: ever reſerving ſome choyce houres for the peruſall of ſuch relations as either in thoſe or preceding times had occurred. So as, we may very well collect, whence the ground of her husbands ſorrow proceeded, in bewailing the ignorance of his mother, not ſufficiently ſeaſoned in the precepts of his Father: by reflecting upon the abilities of his *Paula*, whoſe diſcourſe either for Hiſtory

ſtory or Morall Philoſophy, appeared ſo genuine and proper, as her very name conferred on her family a ſucceeding honour. Laſtly (that I may not inſiſt too long on theſe feminine Mirrors, leſt they ſhould taxe ſome of our Moderne Ladies of ignorance with other temporary errors) *Argentaria Pollia*, wife to the Heroicke *Lucan*, is ſaid to have aſſiſted him in the apt compoſure of his Verſes: being no leſſe rich in fancy, than he himſelfe when moſt enlivened by a Poëticall fury. Nor did ſhe reſtraine her more proſperous ſtudies onely to dimenſions, being no leſſe converſant in Hiſtoricall relations, than Poëticall raptures.

Theſe, as they excelled not onely the moſt of their Sex, but the eminent'ſt perſonages of their time in a judicious and ſerious diſcuſſion of the fruits and benefits of *Hiſtory*: ſo they deſerve to ſucceeding times a juſt renuall of their memory: yea, ſome of their workes wrought ſingular effect in the moſt remiſſe and puſillanimous ſpirits of that time. For as in a Table we eye his feature, whom we doe here honour; whoſe repreſentation conveighes to our heart a vehement deſire of imitation, of whatſoever we know imitable in him: So *Hiſtory*, the exact mappe or diſcovery of humane affaires; perſonates to us in lively colours, the model of preceding times, with the diſpoſitions of ſuch perſons as flouriſhed in thoſe times: which Survey begets in a manly ſpirit, an eager purſuit of their actions: conſidering, how fame is the conſtanſt guardon

of reſolution. For as *Themiſtocles* walked in the night time in the open ſtreet, becauſe he could not ſleepe: the cauſe whereof when ſome men did inquire, he anſwered that the fame-diſperſed triumph of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to take his reſt: So the relation of others actions begets a glorious emulation in every noble ſpirit.

Cic. Tuſc. lib. 4

And (doubtleſſe) there is nothing which inflames the minde of man more unto valour and reſolution, than the report of the acts of their Anceſtors, whoſe monuments remaining of record with this impreſſe: *Non noruns hæc monumenta mori*, muſt needs ſtirre up in them a deſire of imitation.

Many examples I could produce herein, as the Trophies of *Miltiades*, inducements of imitation to *Cæſar*: the acts of *Achylles* to *Alexander*, of *Vlyſſes* to *Telamon*, of the Greekiſh *Heroës* to *Prymalcon*, of *Danaus* to *Linceus*, *Ægeus* to *Theſeus*. Many times (wee read) where a naturall defect and want of courage was ſeated, even a retrograde from the ſphe are of valor, there (though a barren ſeed-plot to worke on) by Hiſtoricall diſcourſe hath magnanimity ſhewne her ſelfe in more perfect and reall colours, than if nature her ſelfe had implanted in that man a Native deſire to fight; ſo powerfull is Hiſtory in her ſelfe, where nature in her ſelfe expreſſeth ſmall power. This diſcourſe therefore ſhould not bee imployed in any thing ſave in excitements to Glory, motives to warlike deſignes; ſince by it valour

lour is quickned, a deſire of honour inflamed, Countries fame diſperſed, and monuments of never-dying glory erected: O then, who ſhould ſo diſallow the precious treaſure of a refined diſcourſe, as to mixe it with impudent & ſcurrillous inventions; ſuch fictions as are not onely in themſelves fabulous, but to the unſtaid Reader (of which ſort we have too many) mortally dangerous? Which fables in my opinion fall among the impertinent & feigned Fables called *Mileſiæ*; only aiming at the depravation of manners, and the effeminating beſt-reſolved Spirits. The ripeneſſe whereof (by ſuch unſeaſoned diſcourſes) become blaſted before their time: O that the depravednes of theſe times ſhould taint ſo generally approved ſtudy: making Hiſtories meere Panygiricks (Poems of adulation) to inſinuate & wind themſelves into the affection of the Great, leaving the Scope of an Hiſtorian to gaine by their ſtudious traffick.

But let us returne to the office of a good Hiſtorian: He will not write but upon ſingular Grounds, reaſons impregnable; conferring with the beſt to make his narrations confirmed of the beſt: Hee writes the ſtories of Princes truely, without concealing their errours (by way of ſilencing them) or comment upon an Hiſtory, annexing to it an unneceſſary gloſſe. He will not be ſo engaged to any, as that he will bee reſtrayned of his *Scope*; or ſo countermanded, as that he muſt of neceſſity illuſtrate vice, vertue cannot paſſe without her character: A good Hiſtorian will alwayes expreſſe the actions of

Office of an Hiſtorian.

good men with an Emphasis, to solicite the Reader to the affecting the like meanes, whereby he may attaine the like end. This was the cause, all the noble *Heroës* in ancient time did leave to posterity their acts to imitate: not so much for recording their owne memorable lives, as for the propagating their Countries eternall honour by succeeding Worthies. As those establishers of good and wholesome Lawes made themselves with their Countrie renowned: *Mynos* and *Radamanth* among the *Cretensians*; *Orpheus* among the *Thracians*; *Draco* and *Solon* in *Athens*; *Lycurgus* in *Lacedemon*; *Zamolxis* among the *Scythians*: Nor be Historians (if so the professors merit that stile) of lesse esteeme than the prudentest and most experienced Statists. For these direct every Senator in politicke affaires, by producing such as excelled in administration of justice; describing the very natures of such Lawes, and the causes why such Lawes were anacted to present times.

☞ True it is, that experience hath begot wisedome, and memory as a Mother hath brought it forth. This might be instanced in nothing more to life than in these Heroicke *Actors*, and Historicall *Relators* of what is acted. The former by an experienc'd hand and resolute heart not onely contrives but atchieves what may most conduce to the honour of his Countrey, and the succeeding renowne of his owne family. The latter becomes a serious, constant and competible *Record* to the former: by commending to writing

writing whatſoever merited either approovement, or might juſtly lay an aſperſion of diſhonour upon the undertaker. For as the definition of *Hiſtory* is to bee circumſcribed by no ſtraiter bounds, than theſe proper extenſive attributes: "The witneſſe of times, the light of truth, "the life of memory, and the meſſenger of "antiquity; ſo are all memorable actions of preceding times by her to poſterity recommended: and theſe with the light of verity and perſpecuity to be cloathed, that the life of thoſe actions may bee better preſerved, and antiquity in her owne native, though naked habite, preſented.

It is moſt certaine, that many excellent Patriots, whoſe ſole honour it was to advance their Countries glory, though by their owne ruine; preferring her quarrell before their owne lives; have utterly refuſed to have any Statues erected in their memory: holding *Vertue* in her owne pure unblemiſhed eſſence, to be a monument of more perpetuity, than all materiall ſtructures, lyable to the period of time: yet did never any of them withdraw themſelves from being recorded in theſe bookes of Fame: accounting them *Earthly Eliſiums*, for memorizing their actions after death, which crowned their names with triumphall honours during life. Hence it was, that *Cicero* mov'd *Luceius* (one of a dext'rous penne, and confirmed fame) to record his acts in his writings: and *Plinius Iunior* wiſhed nothing more than to be mentioned in the Hiſtories of *Cornelius Tacitus*, becauſe he did foreſee their ſucceeding memory.

Now

Now, to inſiſt a little upon that rich and unvaluable Trafficke, which theſe our late-declining times have had with their predeceſſors: we ſhall finde, that as former States received much improvement by the relation and recollection of forraine Lawes, which being made, by a diſcreet uſe and reduction of them, more proper and peculiar, highly advanced thoſe Municipall States where they became eſtabliſhed: So even our own times, though refined, and by collection and collation of many Lawes, with election of the beſt, breathing nothing elſe than an abſolute ſtate of government, neede not to be aſhamed to make uſe of ſome eſpeciall Lawes enacted and duely executed by Ethnicks, both in meat, drinke, and attire.

For the firſt, the *Spartans* held it no derogation nor diſhonour to them, to conforme themſelves to the *Laconian* Order, ſtrict, but healthfull; proportioning ſuch a meaſure both for meat and drinke, as *Leſſius* himſelfe, had hee lived in thoſe times, might have ſeene his owne phyſicall directions ſo punctually obſerved, that nothing could be to life better portrayed, than to behold ſo temperate-abſtemious a courſe generally practiſed. And to deterre others from too looſe and luxurious feeding; it was their care to erect ſundry Statues or Images, to repreſent the fatall-fearefull ends of ſuch, who expoſ'd themſelves to riot.

As the feature of *Heliogabalus*, the effeminate *Sardanapalus*, the unbounded *Eriſthous*, the inſatiate

ſatiat *Cambletes*, whoſe infamous life clos'd itſelfe with as ignominious a death: for this gluttonous Lydian King having in a Dreame devoured his wife, while ſhe lay ſleeping with him together in the ſame bed; and finding her hand betweene his teeth, when he awaked, he ſlew himſelfe, fearing diſhonour. Which Models portrayed not onely to life, but explained by proper Impreſſes, wrought wonderfull effects in the taking Spectator. For as that Rhetoricall Improver of his Countrey, and Reviver of her Language, was wont to ſay; *There is nought that can bee taught without example:* whence it came to be a cuſtome amongſt the ancient *Lacedemonian* Fathers, to preſent their *Eliotes*, or ſlaves in ſolemne Feſtivalls before their children, to act all their Obſcenities by action, geſture, and every unſeemely or undecent poſture, to deterre them from Drunkenneſſe, and other beſtiall qualities incident to that vice.

Cicero.

Εἵλωτας.

For the ſecond, ſo cautious were former times of their Honour, and ſo fearefull leſt they ſhould darken that divine luſtre of the intellect with that broad-ſpreading Tetter or Deluge of liquor: *Plato* reports, that Kinſwomen uſed to kiſſe their Kinſwomen, to know whether they drunke Wine or no, and if they had, they were to be puniſhed by death, or baniſhed into ſome Iſland. *Plutarch* ſaith, that if the Matrons had any neceſſity to drinke Wine, either becauſe they were ſicke or weake, the Senate was to give them licence, and that priviledge might not be admit-

ted in *Rome* neither, but out of the City. *Macrobius* affirmes, that there were two Senators in *Rome* chiding; and the one called the others Wife an Adulteresse, and the other his Wife a Drunkard; and it was judged that to be a Drunkard was more infamy.

Such strong impression had their Lawes, and the life of those Lawes, which is Execution, wrought upon them, as nothing became more dishonourable than this odious vice; and Heavens grant, that it may be no lesse disrelished by us, who weare a far more glorious and honorable Cognisance than these *Ethnicks* ever attain'd to.

'Εν οἴνῳ μὲ ἀνδρίζῳ, πολλίους γὰρ ἀπώλεσεν οἶνος. Eccles' 31.

For the third, they hated nothing more than light-phantasticke habits: They were constant in their attire; their Trafficke was not to ingage their Countrey to forraine fashions; nor foole the State with Fowles feathers. It was not one of their least cares to prevent all occasions of too sumptuous apparell in persons of all conditions: but by all meanes, to reteine a seemely distinction or difference betwixt men of quality, and those of obscurer ranke. Yea, Histories will deliver to us what especiall observances were used in all these, with the penalties inflicted upon such delinquents as were refractory in any of these.

Now, a reflexe upon these, should induce us not onely to conceive all gorgeous attire to be the attire of sinne, but to observe that decent forme, or rule of distinction in our habit, that we may become exemplarie unto others, by making use of what we have read: never holding it any derogation

derogation to receive any life of Inſtruction from others direction, though their Tranſcripts were onely Ethick, and ſhew'd not in them that fulneſſe of beauty, which now ſo clearely ſhines upon us.

THeſe Ages have beene, and are to this day, much indebted to Tranſcriptions. Inventions are oft-times ſlow, where the application of things invented to the preſent State ſeemes more facile and eaſie: Hereto then ſhould the *Scope* of *Hiſtories* tend; not onely to perſonate the Acts of men upon the Theater of this world, but likewiſe to cull out ſuch Lawes, Orders, and Precepts, as well Morall as Divine, which may benefit their preſent eſtate. *Syſambris* skin was a good caveate for ſucceeding Judges: Juſtice before went on crutches, and more were troubled with *Demoſthenes* diſeaſe than with *Phocions* bluntneſſe. The Hiſtorian muſt not ſow pillows to the elbowes of Magiſtrates, nor ſooth corruption with an humour of ſhadowing vice: He ſhows what was done: and commends the one to reprehend the other. Vertue never wants her Character, nor vice her reproofe: For ſuch Hiſtoricall Relations as induce to vertue, and deterre from vice, comprehend in them the true uſe of ſuch ſubjects, being Apologeticall and Morall to reforme, not Myleſian or prophane, to deforme or diſfigure the exact Symmetrie of a vertuous Idiome. No marvell if *Alexander* laid the

Uſe of Tranſcriptories.

A memorable Caveat for all corrupters of Iuſtice.

What honour the Worlds Monarch did to *Homer*.

workes of *Homer* under his head, being ſuch as directed him to be a Head, how to governe Provinces, how to ſway his inordinate affections; ſo as *Cleanthes* Table (Vertues beſt elucidary) had her Liberall Sciences never better portrayed, than the differences 'twixt true Fortitude, and a foolehardy boldneſſe were by *Homer* deblazoned. Here a *Hector*, badge of true valour; there an *Antenor*, whoſe gravity purchas'd him honour; there a *Diomedes*, no leſſe wiſe than reſolved; here a *Troilus*, ſtout enough, but unadviſed; here warres well managed abroad, but leſſe ſucceſſive at home, exemplified in *Agamemnon*; there a ſubtile ſconſe, no leſſe fraighted with policy than ſucceſſe, in *Synon*. All theſe are expreſſed by that Heroick Hiſtorian.

The Method Poets reteined in their Heroicall meaſures, Hiſtoricall relations.

Qui quid ſit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chryſippo & Crantore dicit.

Theſe acts could not but miniſter ſufficient matter of admiration to ſuch Judicious Readers, as apprehended each circumſtance in the ſubject; making that apt connexion of all, that the body might ſeeme more excellent, by the proportioning of every member.

Severall fruits of Hiſtory.

HIſtories in themſelves are diverſe, producing ſeverall fruits to the peruſers, according to every mans affection: which made that Moderne Hiſtorian compare them to a Banquet, wherein were

were to bee ſerved ſeverall diſhes; ſome to provoke appetite, others to ſatiate; more delightfull ſubjects penned for reliſhing more ſerious ſtudies; graver diſcourſes to ripen the underſtanding, by applying the inſtructions of forraigne States to our owne judgements: where we may make uſe of the beſt part of man (in his reaſonable power) and that is Election: approving of what is good, or may in it ſelfe be beneficiall to the State: and ſlightly obſerving diſcourſes of indifferency, as accomplements, ceremonies, circumſtances, and the like, reſembling faire frontiſpices which are made rather for ornament than uſe.

IT is neceſſary for a good Hiſtorian to have maturity of judgement, to apprehend what is fitteſt for his diſcourſe, and to be as little complemental as may be, leſt the varniſh marre the worke; for the words of an Hiſtorie in my opinion jumpe with *Mirandula*: *Vt non ſint lecta, ita nec neglecta*: the one implies a kind of dejection, the other a minde too curious to profit any, deſiring onely to pleaſe himſelfe. *Cæſar* in his Commentaries, ſheweth no leſſe diſcipline in the Art of Hiſtory, than in the diſcipline of Armes: uſing a ſtile as wel fitting a Souldier, as curioſity the ſmooth tongue of an Orator. It is true which was obſerved of him: *Si acta eius penitus ignoraſſes, per linguã tamen militem eſſe diceres*: Having neither his phraſes too ſelected (as to ſhew a

Profit of Hiſtory.

Si neſcirem Cæſarem, dicerem te militem.

ſingularity) or too neglected, to expreſſe a careleſneſſe in his writing.

Now, to propoſe a forme of *Style*, and what may beſt ſuite with the quality of an Hiſtorian; I will not arrogate ſo much to my ſelfe: onely let me in a word explode that which in the opinion of all ſuch as have writ touching the *Style*, carriage, or office of an Hiſtorian, deſerves reproofe.

For an Hiſtorian than to uſe too poliſh'd or terſe a *Style*, or to play the *Orator*, when he ſhould performe the office of a *Relator*, would not reliſh of diſcretion. Or to ſpinne out the webbe of his diſcourſe in fruitleſſe diverſions, which rather perplexe the immazed Reader, than enlighten his underſtanding, implies either want of matter, or want of order. To goe on in a free and unaffected *Style*; beſeemes his perſon: propoſing things done, as if they were ocularly preſented: and albeit, it be not the happy fate of all Hiſtorians with the Princely *Cæſar* and ſincere *Comines*, to bee perſonally preſent at thoſe Conqueſts or Diſcomfits whereof they write; yet by collections or intelligence many have compoſed, at leaſt compiled excellent workes meriting no leſſe improvement than if they had beene there in perſon preſent. And no doubt, though information cannot be ſo firme a ground to build upon, as a perſonall preſentation of what is done: yet, being ſeriouſly intentive and ſollicitous from whoſe relations they receive intelligence; uſing likewiſe a ſeaſonable deliberation

to

to try the iſſue or event thereof, before hee commit to publicke, what was delivered unto him in private: he may by his owne diligence, with other accommodations, perfect what hee intends, and incurre few obliquities.

I have knowne indeed, divers, who onely breathed their owne Countrey ayre: and never walked farther than their owne Paſtures; to have writ with much confidence of forraigne Seats, the government of their State, the barrenneſſe or fertility of their ground; the diſpoſition of their inhabitants; their commerce with other nations. Their Lawes, Edicts, and Conſtitutions: all which by their induſtrious collection they have ſo laboriouſly reduced, ſo properly compiled, and and methodically digeſted, as not only the maine *Baſis* or foundation whereon the whole Frame or Fabricke of their *Hiſtory* ſubſiſted, but the very circumſtances, inferences, and illuſtrations confirm'd them Travellers in thoſe Countries whereof they diſcourſed.

Hiſtorians by Intelligence & perufall of others *Labours*

This I confeſſe is a great felicity in an *Author*, and deſerves a juſt guerdon for his labour. Albeit, ſhould any one unawares converſe with any of theſe touching the Site, Degrees, or Temperature of any ſuch Province they have deſcribed: how miſerably would they wander, and commit more errours in one houres ſpace with their tongue, than a whole yeare could rectifie with their penne? Relations of this nature are ſo got by th' Booke, as their Remembrancer failes, when he is removed from his booke.

Never-

Nevertheleſſe, it is not to be doubted, but that moſt of our ancient Hiſtorians whether Greek or Latine, have received their beſt helpes from others Labours: which may appeare by this, in that they wrote of ſuch Perſons and memorable actions as were many ages before their times. So as, not onely this diſtinct ſtudy of Hiſtory, but generally all learning hath beene highly beholden to Tranſcriptions (as I formerly obſerved) for otherwiſe had the moſt eminent'ſt Labours in all ages periſhed.

It is to bee admired, by what Divine providence the ancient Records of long-preceding times have beene preſerved; eſpecially, wanting thoſe improving helpes of Printing; which, with what facility of Art, and felicity of Invention, have beene of late yeares to all Chriſtendome recommended, I leave to the judicious to conceive, and conceiving to admire that peculiar benefit.

The laſt chapter of the Hiſtory of the Kingdome of *China*, printed in *Macao*, the firſt *Latine* Booke that ever was printed in *China*, maketh mention of the Iland St. *Laurence* under the name of *Madagaſcar*: expreſſing in a proper phraſe (the more to be admired in ſo illiterate a time) the Site, Diſtance, and Commodities of that place.

The people of *China*, indeed retained as a memorable appropriate to their antiquity, a certaine forme of Cyphering, whereof their impoliſh'd Art expreſſed ſome notions by ſtamps and impreſſions: but theſe were onely of uſe unto themſelves, being ſo intricate and obſcure, as it had beene a fruitleſſe labour to have communicated them to any other, ſave onely to their owne Natives, without a knowing Interpreter.

No doubt, but many excellent workes formerly compoſed by ancient Authors, with no

leſſe

leſſe induſtry than felicity, both for *Invention* and *Style*, have periſhed: which might be no leſſe probably than authentically collected by divers memorable pieces loſt both amongſt the *Grecians* and *Romans*. We make no queſtion of *Hortenſius* Eloquence, and that divers workes of his by the injury of time, have received that too common fate to Learning, extinction.

Divers memorable workes amongſt the Ancient have periſhed, through want of Tranſcribing to poſterity.

Cordus, an impartiall and uncorrupt Hiſtorian; one who ſuffered for the Integrity he profeſſed: reteining ever that honeſt reſolution, that though the generall corruption of that time might truely conclude with *Martial*:

Qui velit ingenio cedere, rarus erit.

He ever ſcorned to comply with Time, or feed the humour of an imperiall Libertine, or licentious Governor. This man, I ſay, or man of men, expreſſed his courage moſt, when thoſe vitious and depraved times appeared worſt. Yet, no doubt, many of thoſe ſelect and approved Labours which he had ſo ſeriouſly compiled, and to an Hiſtoricall Method reduced, remaine now obſcured. Many inimitable workes not onely in their *Embrio*, but brought to their full height and accretion, were written by that matchleſſe *Caſar*, whereof wee have now ſcarce any ſemblance remaining. And whence proceeded this *Tetter* to Learning, but from the want of that which we in ſo accurate manner enjoy, the benefit of *Printing*? The tediouſneſſe of Tranſcri-

bing occaſioned this injury; whereas, if the knowledge of the Preſſe had arrived there, all theſe inconveniences had beene prevented, thoſe ancient Monuments of Learning, Martiall Experience, nay, of all *Liberall Sciences* had beene better preſerved. Thoſe poore *Arcadian* Shepheards, when they had no other meanes to continue the memory of their actions, or perpetuate their Loves, or recommend to poſterity their Rurall Rapſodies, uſed to indorſe their paſſionate Expreſſions in Rindes of Trees; which ſeemes pleaſantly ſhadowed at by the Poet:

Nomina paſtorum inſcribunt cortice Fagi; Cortice quæ eſſa, non peritura manent.

In barks of Trees Shepheards their loves ingrav'd,
Which in the bole remain'd, when th' rinde was ſhav'd.

So ſollicitous were poore Swainlins to have the memory of their Paſtoralls continued, as they uſed the beſt meanes they could to have them preſerved.

Now, to us is a farre greater priviledge granted: our workes may be kept to poſterity without any feare of ſo menacing an injury. Stampt they may be with a firmer Impreſſion, to continue their names to a ſucceeding generation. It reſts, that as this benefit is conferred on us, we beſtow our Oyle on ſuch Labours as may conduce to the publick: reteining ever a vertuous ſcorne, to cloſe in ought that may detract from goodneſſe, or to ſmother vice in the viſage of greatneſſe.

As wee have the benefit of Print, ſo are thoſe workes to produce ſome benefit, which wee intend to Print.

Aug. Med. c. 4

It was a religious Fathers continuate occaſion of griefe, which hee expreſſed in many devout aſpirations and pious teares, to recall to minde

thoſe

thoſe lighter and leſſe conſequent Studies, which his youth had affected, concluding with this paſſionate confeſſion: "*Thoſe ſtudies which I once lo-*
"*ved, now condemne me; thoſe which I ſometimes*
"*praiſed, now diſparage me.*

Let us reflect on this; and become diſcreetly cautious what we write; what peculiar ſtudy we addreſſe our ſelves to; that our yeeres of age may not bluſh when they peruſe thoſe *Follies* in *Folio* which our youth publiſhed.

True is that conſtant Maxime: *Iuventus inventioni, Senectus caſtigationi aptior*: How pregnant ſoever our wits be to invent; how rich ſoever our fancies be to conceit; how elegant ſoever our ſtyle to illuſtrate our diſcourſe; if the *Subiect* tend not to the practice of Piety; but onely ſuite with the quality of the time, expoſing our Lamps to lucre, or to procure unmerited honour; our riper houres will bring us to a cenſure, and diſcover our follies in their owne naked and native feature. As then, we value our honour, or ſhall labour to preſerve our memory to a ſucceeding age: let nothing paſſe under our Pen, nor receive life from our Conceit, but what with a diſcreet confidence we are aſſured of, that it may afford much benefit to that private or publick ſtate to which it is addreſſed: and by a propagating power beget much profit in a conceiving Reader.

It is an obſervable note, which one experienc'd in aſſayes of this kind, ſometimes ſaid, and to our preſent purpoſe properly applyed: "It is "hard when the world ſhall ſhew mine infirmi-

"ties under mine owne hand, ſaid that knowing *Roman.* The way to free us from occaſionall cenſure, is to conceale our ſelves from the world, who is many times a *Lynceus* to the lighteſt error. *Lateat hac una ſalus*, was wiſe *Ithacus* his counſell to perplexed *Andromache*; and mine ſhal be the ſame to every Author, in this cenſorious Maze of opinionate phrenſie. Now to the election of our Style.

The Records of things done, commended to poſterity, ſhould not be enrolled, as the *Chaldees* did their *Hieroglyphicks* in Cyphers and intricate concluſions; but in words moſt ſignificant, phraſes modeſtly elegant, and diſcourſe moſt pertinent. Here, by way of digreſſion, let me touch the ridiculous labours, and unfruitfull travailes of ſuch who paſſe the *Alpes*, trace uncoth places, Deſarts, Promontories; for what end Heaven knows, ſave onely to wreſt out a phantaſtick behaviour of ſuperfluous wit, or to comment on others Travailes by way of diriſion: Theſe are ſuch as upon their returne, publiſh what they have ſeene; ſome more than they have ſeene, which I tearme *Commenting Travellers*: others leſſe than they have ſeene, (or at leaſt the moſt impertinent) which I tearme *phantaſtick Travailers*. Such as lye on their Travaile, either doe it for admiration, or having run upō the adverſe ſhelvs of a deplored fortune, are enforced to invent ſtrange things for the reliefe of their dejected eſtate. Such as publiſh leſſe than they have ſeene, (omitting things of the greateſt conſequence, to ſatisfie our humors

humors with trifles) doe it to gaine pregnancy, or ſingularity rather of conceit : they talke not of the Acts of Princes, nor the Sites of Regions, the temperature of ſuch Clymates, or any materiall diſcourſe, but to ſhew an exquiſite ſtraine of wit, purchaſed by a little fruitleſſe travell: they inſert frivolous occurrents, borrowed, or (it may be) invented by their owne phantaſticke braines. Theſe miſſe the marke a good Traveller ſhould aime at : they ſhould obſerve Lawes in forraigne places, like a good *Lycurgus*, to tranſpoſe ſo glorious a freight to their owne Countrey. They ſhould not (like our faſhion-inventers, our Italianated Albionacts) ſo much obſerve what is worne on the body, as what habit beſt beſeemes the nature and condition of their minde. Since flouriſhing Common-weales are then the higheſt, when in externall habilliments the loweſt : for *Sparta* never flouriſhed more, than when ſhe conformed her State to the imitation of the *Laconians*. Many Realmes have we knowne to be miraculouſly protected, by meanes of experienced men: which experience they either received by Travell or Example : yea, many Empires (and thoſe of ampleſt circumference) have beene reduced from a kinde of ſervitude within themſelves, by experiments derived from a farre. For Travell, the excellent deſignes of *Sertorius*, *Eumenes*, *Marius*, and *Antonius*, may ſufficiently confirme the profit to bee reaped thereby. For Example : We ſhall reade in all the Roman Annals, a certaine vehement deſire in all the worthy

Vſe of travell and example.

Imitation in vertue.

Patritians of imitating whatſoever they perceived to bee worthy imitation in their predeceſſours; marking the events of their intendments, and collecting the goodneſſe of the meanes by the proſperous ſucceſſe in the end. Theſe were worthy monumentall honours, that could not only imitate the vertues ſo tranſparant in others, but even exemplifie their memorable actions in themſelves.

Wee are placed in the following Ages, but we ſcorne to follow the precedent times in their vertues, though expert enough in contriving politicke deſignes: the fabricke of our invention can diſpoſe or tranſpoſe it ſelfe to any ſhape, any impreſſion, for private gaine or advantage: but publicke affaires may be Advocates for themſelves; they are a Merchandiſe too farre eſtranged from our affections; none will travaile to purchaſe their Countries peace: *Solons* we have few, that goe mad for their Countrey; but *Tarpeia's* we have too many, that are madde with deſire to betray their Countrey: Few Law-inacters, many Law-infringers: making wholeſome Lawes, like *Tarandulas* webs; wickers for great ones to come through, but ſnarles for little ones to hold.

Thoſe ancient Emblemes ſtood profeſt *Antipodes* to theſe injurious Spiders; whoſe deſire is, that *Juſtice* may ſtill hold her compariſon with the *Celedonie* ſtone, which retaineth her vertue no longer, than it is rubbed with gold. There were certaine Images of Judges, by report conſir-

firmed, and to their full proportions, with proper Motto's annexed, anciently rendred; which were ſet up at *Athens*, (at that time the ſelect Seat of the Muſes) having neither hands nor eyes: implying, that Rulers and Magiſtrates, to whom the civill ſword of juſtice was recommended, ſhould neither be infected with bribes, nor any other way drawne from that which was lawfull and right.

Aſtrea, the goddeſſe of Juſtice, was portrayed before them; her ballance hanging in an equall ſcale. The leaſt deviation from what was juſt, ingaged the purple delinquent to an heavy cenſure. And this confirmed by the juſt and irrevocable decree of higheſt Emperours. *Severus* would have ſmoak'd ſuch ſellers of ſmooke. *Zerxes* would have pulled their skinne over their eares. This brought that flouriſhing-glorious eſtate to that ſpreading Empire in thoſe happy dayes wherein *Baſil* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* lived; of whom it is reported, that whenſoever he came to his Judgement ſeat, he found neither party to accuſe, nor defendant to anſwer.

Excellent Emblemes for deblazoning corrupt Juſtice.

I remember a certaine Modell of antick forme, wherein were preſented in *Punick* habits ſixe grave perſonages, perſonating the office of Judges; each of them portrayed to the full body, and diſcovered by their diſtinct Poſture and Impreſſe: The firſt, as one made up of impertinences, intending more the houre how it paſſed, than how buſineſſe were diſpatched, ſate winding up his *Watch*; and above him theſe words writ

in

in golden Letters: *Quota eſt hora?* The next to him, as one rocked aſleepe, ſate a grave *Endymion*, careleſſe how the world went, or how cauſes proceeded: his onely reſide on a bench, was to take a nappe, and with all indifferency to recommend the carriage of all buſineſſes unto another, ſo he might without diſturbance, enjoy his ſlumber; his Impreſſe, to anſwer the former: *Omnibus dormio.* The third, an imperious ſurly *Saturniſt*, whoſe will was his Law; one, who ſcorned to veile to anothers judgement, though his opinion were more juſt: preferring his owne voyce before the equity of the cauſe: which hee makes good with as confident an impreſſe: *Sic volo, ſic iubeo.* The fourth, a conceiving Sage, who heares all, but ſayes nothing: appearing as one wonne by affection; or over-aw'd by command: or as one conſtantly reſolv'd to comply with time, he approves with ſilence, what his owne knowledge dictates to him for unjuſt; and this he ſeconds in theſe words: *Video, ſed taceo.* The fifth, one of a ſtrong working pulſe, more apt to receive than a common Shore. His Nerves were deſcribed ever extended; his Eyes fixt upon a viſible object of approaching profit; and his Lungs nearely conſumed with a cloſe infatigable whiſpering of, *Quid dabis?* The laſt, in a ſcornfull eying and diſ-eſteeming of their irregular courſes; as one declining from their injurious carriage, which he conceipts unworthy the embrace of any ſincere profeſſant, who ſhould make his life the line, by which

others

others actions are to bee directed, others affections meaſured, concludes, *Video & rideo.* Truth is, Emblemes of this ſort are held a kinde of repreſentative Hiſtories: and by ſo much more moving, in regard their features imply a more native and free expreſſion, than if they were diſcovered onely by the penne without any other liniment.

With pieces of this quality, many eminent and illuſtrious perſonages have been infinitely taken: inſtances hereof are each-where to be found without ſeeking, and incomparably uſefull in their applying. *Protogenes* his Table, wherein *Bacchus* was painted, (and with no leſſe excellence was the Embleme contrived) moved King *Demetrius* lying ſiedge at the City *Rhodes*, to uſe ſuch intermiſſions and prejudiciall delayes in the purſuit of his deſigne, that where he might have conſumed the City with fire, ſpared it for the preciouſneſſe and accurate workmanſhip of that Table: ſo as, ſtaying to bide them battaile, he won not the City at all.

We ſhall ſee in the draught of ancient Hiſtories, not onely the actions and events of warres ſet downe; but likewiſe the Purpriſe of Forts, the Site of Cities; the manner of their defeats, in Pictures and other impreſſive Sculptures; which adde a great beauty and living reſemblance to the *Hiſtory*. This we may ſee in thoſe time-ſurviving Commentaries of *Caſar*, and other Moderne Annals expreſſed, to which theſe digreſſive obſervations may be properly referred.

BUt to returne to our former argument: by the right uſe of Hiſtory, we ſee vertue revived when her defender is dead: and to ſay the truth, I may uſe *Thales* ſentence in this diſcourſe: without Hiſtory, *Nil mortem a vitâ differre*: Since the life of the dead depends upon the memory of the living: for without ſome memoriall of actions proſecuted, what difference betwixt the valiant acts of *Ithacus*, and the ſhamefull retirednesſe of *Ægyſtus*? betwixt *Æneas* piety, and *Pigmalions* cruelty? they are dead, and their poore Vrne can ſpeake no more for them, than *Pompey's* Sepulchre ſpake for him: *Hic ſitus eſt magnus*! here he lyes that was once great: powerfull in popular command, generally ſucceſſfull, before his *Pharſalian* diſcomfite: here he lyes that was ſtiled his Countries Patron, *Romes* beſt Centinell: yet failing in the cloſe of his fortunes, drooping in the upſhot of his victories: Time can erect no other monument in his remembrance: *Vixi, & vici*: onely once I lived, and was once Conquerour. It is recorded, that when *Alexander* came to the Tombe of *Achylles*, and beheld the Mirrour of *Greece*, ſhut up in ſo ſmall a ſcantling of earth, (a parcell of that whole which could hardly containe him living) he wept bitterly, adding: *Haccine ſunt Trophæa?* Be theſe all the Monuments, all the Trophies this world could affoord thee? Is greatneſſe ſo ſoone extinguiſhed, and the lampe of honour ſo ſoone

The great mans Morte.

put

put out? A good motive for *Alexander*, to caution him of his mortality, and might make up this concluſion: *Alexander* thou art not διὸς, but παιδὸς τῆς γαίας: not the ſonne of *Iupiter*, but the ſonne of earth.

The like wee read related by *Quintus Curtius*: that when this great Prince of *Macedon* came into *Perſia*, an object of no leſſe pitty, than example of humane frailty, repreſented it ſelfe unto him: to wit, the poore Sepulchre of that victorious *Cyrus*, on which he found no other Inſcription than this: *O man! whoſoever thou bee, or from what place ſoever thou ſhalt come (for I know thou wilt come) know, that I am Cyrus who tranſlated the Empire from the Medes to the Perſians: pray thee do not envy me for this little handfull of earth that doth cover me.* This Epitaph could not chooſe but fixe an impreſſion of remorſe and commiſeration (as indeed it did) in that great Conquerours heart: ſeeing whereto all his victories tended: So as *Nero's* affecting command and ſoveraignty was well anſwered by *Seneca*: *Pulchrum eſt regnare*, (ſaid *Nero*:) *Nihil eſt, ſi nihil queras*, replyed *Seneca*: Certainly (if I bee not blinded with the love of Hiſtoricall diſcourſe) there is no meanes better to deterre from vice, nor more effectuall inducements unto vertue, than theſe morall relations. By them wee ſee the lives of Princes, and their imployments (*Prima ſpecie læta*) in their firſt entrance or paſſage pleaſant, and delightfull, promiſing no leſſe than ſucceſſe, and in ſucceſſe, continuance: and afterwards (*Tractu dura*)

more difficulties attending, as if the Wheele of Fortune were removed to a place ſubjected to more occurrents; yet not ſo dangerous, as to be attended by ruine: nor ſo ſecure, as to promiſe an undoubted iſſue. *Eventu triſtia*; a ſtrange Cataſtrophe of ſo faire beginnings! where, in the firſt, there was ſecurity grounded upon more than hope: in the ſecond, hope, though not ſecure: in the third, neither hope nor ſecurity, but deprivall of both. Yet even in theſe converſions, if it pleaſe the Reader to caſt his eye upon the admirable moderation of ſome Princes affections, he ſhall ſee verily a Chriſtian reſolution in a Pagan. *Furius Camillus* could not be daunted, (though unjuſtly cenſured) his exile neither made him dejected, nor his Dictator-ſhip prowd. *Phocion*, that honeſt Senator (to ſatisfie an unſatiate appetite of revenge) renders up his life willingly, and when he could not dye without paying for his death, ſo indifferent was life to him, as hee confirmed his reſolution by this *Epiphonema*: *Itaque niſi empta nece, mori mihi Athenis non licuit?*

True fortitude.

☞ To recount the vertuous lives and reſolute deaths of the *Cannij*, *Seneca*, *Aruntij*, *Sorani*, *&c.* men of admirable tempers in ſo corrupt a government: what excellent divine precepts they propoſed: what indifferency not onely towards *Fortune* but *Life* it ſelfe they ſhewed; how integriouſly they bare themſelves in place of honour; with what conſtancy they ſuffered themſelves to be deprived of it, would ſtrike amaze-

ment

ment in any underſtanding man. Eſpecially, having had no other helps but the light of Nature to guide them; nothing but an imaginary Conceit of fame to eternize them. Light veiles for ſo high deſignes.

In thoſe blind times, when States and Empires grounded their ſucceſſe on Oracles; giving more credit to their doubtfull *Delphian* Reſolves than any other præſage: with what preparedneſſe would their Generalls and Leaders grapple with the extreameſt oppoſitions of death and danger? "No ſafety, nor hope of Victory either to State "or Army, concludes the Oracle, if the Generall "live: and rather than the State ſhould ſuffer prejudice by his life, with open breaſt and cheerefull embrace he meetes death. *Curtius* leapes into the Lake; *Cocles* into the Sea. This ſuffers exile, and rejoyceth in his misfortune; that degraded, beares the ſame count'nance in his diſgrace.

Againe, obſerve thoſe conſtant amicable contracts of friendſhip one made with another: how no perill could divide their affections: no interpoſed Cloud darken thoſe rayes of Amity mutually reflecting: Hiſtories are ſtored with inſtances of this kind, which deſerve our memory, with an admiration of their immutability. Two eſpeciall examples, amongſt many others, Stories afford us, which are here inſerted by us; briefly related, but to perpetuity memoriſed. The former is of *Pelopidas* that noble *Grecian*, who ſkirmiſhing with the *Lacedemonians* againſt the

Arcadians, untill ſuch time as being hurt in ſeven places, he fell downe at laſt for dead. Then preſently *Epaminondas* (a mirror of conſtant Amity, in an hazard of ſuch extremity) out of a princely reſolution, ſtepping forth beſtrid him, and fought to defend his body, he alone againſt many, till being ſore cut on his arme with a Sword, and thruſt into the breaſt with a Pike, he was even ready to give over. But at that very inſtant, *Ageſipolis*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, came with the other point of the Battell, in an happy houre, and ſaved both their lives, when they were paſt all hope.

Plutarch. in Pelopida. initio.

Marcus Servilius, a valiant *Roman*, may ſupply the place of the latter; who had fought three and twenty Combates of life and death in his owne perſon, and had alwayes ſlaine as many of his Enemies as chaleng'd him man to man; when as the people of *Rome*, upon ſome private diſcontent, reſiſted *Paulus Æmilius* tryumph, ſtood up and made an Oration in his behalfe. In the midſt whereof he caſt open his gowne, and ſhewed before them the infinite ſkarres and cuts hee had received upon his breaſt. The ſight whereof ſo prevailed with the people, that they all agree'd in one, and granted *Æmilius* Tryumph.

Plut. in Paulo Æmilio. fine.

Should we obſerve likewiſe what inteſtine and inveterate hate one Nation bare to another; where a new ſucceſſion ever retained that propoſed revenge of their Anceſtor, it would give us no little occaſion of wonder: that ſmall beginnings riſing to greater heates, neither by continuance

nuance of time, which weares out greateſt diſpleaſures, nor mediation of interceeding States, could poſſibly be attoned. Variety of theſe, *Hiſtory* will likewiſe afford us.

When *Annibal* was a Child, and at his Fathers commandment, hee was brought into the place, where he made ſacrifice; and laying his hand upon the Altar, ſware that ſo ſoone as hee bore any ſway in the Common-wealth, hee would be a profeſſed enemy to the *Romans*. And that this grounded Nationall hate was not to be extinguiſh'd by death, may appeare by many eminent and pregnant Inſtances, not onely anciently but even of later times occurring.

Scipio appointed his Sepulchre to be ſo placed, as his Image ſtanding upon it, might looke directly towards *Affrica*, that being dead, he might ſtill be a terror to the *Carthaginians*.

Ziſca, that valiant Captaine of the *Bohemians*, who had borne himſelfe ſo victoriouſly ſucceſſive in many ſet Battells of incomparable conſequence, commanded that after his deceaſe his ſkin ſhould be flay'd from his body to make a Drumme, which they ſhould uſe in their battells, affirming that as ſoone as the *Hungarians*, or any other their enemies, ſhould heare the ſound of that Drumme, they would not abide, but take their flight. This was the reaſon that the body of *Cadwallo*, an ancient King of *Britaines*, (to draw nearer our owne borders) being embalmed and dreſſed with ſweet confections, was put into a brazen Image, and ſet upon a brazen Horſe *Hollinſhead.*

Horſe over *Ludgate* for a terror to the *Saxons*.

Theſe in a private Arbour, ſecluded from the cares or turmoyles of the world, to peruſe, cannot but beget a delight and admiration in the Reader. While hee collects the rare temper of ſome, whoſe alteration of fortune could not ſo much as occaſion one ſigh, or produce a teare. The Reaſon might be this, they were not ſo much enamoured on what they enjoy'd, and conſequently could forgoe whatſoever they enjoy'd with leſſer griefe. Servile teares become ſlaviſh mindes: whereas a truely ennobled diſpoſition ſcornes to be reſtrained by ſuch gyves. This benefit of Nature they enjoyed, and in ſuch freedome, as loſſe of fortunes could not amate them, being ſeated on an higher Mount than the braves of ſo light a Soveraigneſſe could aſcend to.

Theſe rightly conceived, and uſefully applyed that Philoſophicall Axiome: "*As the Moone* "*doth never eclypſe, but when ſhee is at the full: ſo* "*the Minde is never ſo much obſcured, as it is with* "*the ſuperfluity of Riches.* And againe, *as the* "*Moone is the furtheſt off from the Sunne, which* "*giveth it light, when it is at the full, ſo a Man,* "*when hee is fulleſt of Riches, is furtheſt off from* "*that Equity and Iuſtice which ought to give him* "*light.* Herein therefore (to free them from a more dangerous ſhelfe) they thought to imitate the Flie, which putteth not her feete into the great maſſe of Honey, but onely taketh or taſteth with her tongue ſo much thereof as ſerveth her turne and no more, leſt by doing otherwiſe, ſhe

ſhee might remaine taken and drowned therein. For true is that ſentence in every worldlings experience: *Qui mundum amplectuntur ſimiles ſunt illis, qui ſubmerguntur in aquis.* This, through a conſtant moderation of their deſires, moved *Anacharſes* to refuſe the Treaſure ſent him by *Croſus*: *Anacreon* the Treaſure ſent him by *Policrates*: And *Albionus* the Treaſure ſent him by *Antigonus*. *Bern. de Advent. Serm. 1.*

That *Zeno* prov'd himſelfe a Philoſopher indeed by his contempt of the World; who hearing that all his eſtate was expoſed to ſhipwracke, with a pleaſing ſmile, and a compoſed temper, farre above the braves of fortune, concluded: "*Fortune bids mee now the ſooner play the* "*Philoſopher.*" And as their *Spirits* were elevated above the Orbe of *Fortune*; ſo could they with no leſſe noble reſolution ſuffer the miſery of Exile, ever cloſing with that divine Morall: *Si ſapiens eſt, non peregrinatur, ſi ſultus eſt, exulat.* How ſoever then the State, upon ſome immerited ground might pronounce their Proſcriptions againſt them: their Countrey was wiſedome; their true repoſe, a quiet, compoſed mind, ready to ſuffer in defence of honour, and to hold it a prerogative of honour ſo to ſuffer. *Sen. de tranq. an.* *Sen. de remed. fort.*

What ſhould I ſpeake of *Publius Valerius Publicola*, whoſe moderation in the ebbe of fortune, and ſurpluſage of miſeries, made him more admired, than hated? The equall temper of *Rutillus*, the exceeding modeſty of *L. Quintius*, the grave and ſerious reſpect of *Fabius Maximus*,

the temperate deliberation of *Marcellus*, and the admirable government of *Tiberius Gracchus*; the wise staidnesse of *Metellus*, and the discreet patience of *Marcus Bibulus*. We use to be more excited to goodnesse by Examples than Precepts; and such instances in Histories are not a little persuasive, representing to our eyes the divers objects of Piety in *Coriolanus*, of Justice in *Aristides*, of Prudence in *Cleobulus*: and to be briefe, of all vertues so well practised by Pagans, as they may well deserve an imitation by Christians.

TO proceede now to the Discourse it selfe; I allow of a copious phrase in History: for contraction of sentences doth oft-times contract the sence, or at least makes the Subject lesse intelligible: *Cornelius Tacitus* seemed to affect an intricate kinde of writing, yet his Argument in it selfe so copious, might modestly Apologize his succinctnesse, approving *Tullies* opinion, where he propounds, what errours are most subject to Taxing in such Discourses: *Vitiosum etiam est si nimium apparatus verbis compositum, aut nimium longa est*: Taxing in the one Singularity, commending in the other Brevity: Yet he seemes to oppose himselfe in it by plaine contradiction, making relation of the same Discourse: *Non parum fructus habet in se copia dicendi, & commoditas orationis*: But these tend rather to Rhetoricall Narrations, than Historicall

What Stile best serves an History.

call Deſcriptions. *Tacitus* is to be preferred before the moſt, being a dilated compendiary of many declined States, diſ-united Provinces: ſhewing the vices of the time, where it was dangerous to be Vertuous, and where Innocence raſted the ſharpeſt cenſure: what garbe beſt ſuited with the ſtate of that time, deſcribing the Orators Tongue-*Facundam inimicitijs*, more partiall than Time-obſervers. Where *Amici Curiæ*, were *Paraſiti Curiæ*: The Courts friends, the Courts Popingayes. Here he ſhewes a great Man riſing, and his fall as ſuddaine as his erection: the inmeritorious, in election for greateſt honours; and the vertuous depreſſed, becauſe they will not mount by ſiniſter meanes. There a Prince that ſhewed great teſtimonies of his approved vertues, ſo long as he was ſubject, but raiſed to an unexpected height hee ſeconded this Concluſion: "An ill Prince ſpoyled a good "Subject: ſo was *Galba*: *Omnium conſenſu capax Imperij, niſi imperaſſet*: O what ſingular fruits may be gathered out of that one Hiſtory, to teach men in high eſtates how to moderate their Greatneſſe; and others of inferiour ranke, rather to live retired, than to purchaſe eminence in place by ſervile meanes? But of all, the divers affections of Princes, either well or ill diſpoſed, miniſter no little delight to the Judicious Reader: Here one ſo popularly affected, as he had the tricke to binde his Subjects to allegeance by a native inſinuation; ſuch was *Auguſtus*, *Antonius Pius*, *Septimus Severus*; one whereof ſeemed

Diverſity of affections.

rather to affect popular ſatisfaction than his owne, ſubjecting (as he himſelfe profeſſed) his entireſt thoughts to propagate his Countries glory: *Antonius* Clemency, was the chaine that united and combined (in a knot inviolable) the hearts of the *Romans* to him, publickly proteſting: *Hee had rather ſave one Citizen, than deſtroy a thouſand enemies.* But *Severus* was loved (which ſeemes no leſſe admirable) for that which engenders, for moſt part, greateſt occaſion of offence, and that was Severity; Being no leſſe exact in puniſhing his friends than enemies. But to read over the life of *Sylla*, we ſhall ſee an oppoſition in his nature. None that ere did more good to his friends, or more harme to his enemies: Nay, even in Brothers (derived from one Stemme) diſcrepant natures; *Titus*, the love and darling of Man-kinde; *Domitian* a profeſſed foe to all Man-kinde; the one baniſhing Parаſites his Palace; the other a perſecutor of flies.

Hinc Sciſſitanti, Quinam in Palatio? *perlepidè reſponſum fuit*, Ne Muſca quidem.

☞ Thoſe different diſpoſitions of *Romulus* and *Remus*; *Numitor* and *Amulius*, how from one and the ſame ſtemme, branches of various natures proceeded. Againe, to obſerve with what a Religious Ethicke care, many eminent Princes erected Temples for their Gods; how ſerious they were in obſerving thoſe Ceremonies, which were Nationally uſed by them. How ſuperſtitious they were in their *Oſcines* and Auguries; what conſtant performers of their words, were it either in private Contracts,

tracts, or publick Conditions of Peace. What a laſting brand, or ſurviving blemiſh was it to any Nation, that ſhould be found guilty in this kind? What a *Theta* it was to the *Carthaginians*, to be ſtamped with that inglorious Title of *Fœdifragi?* How devoted and affectionately ingaged, thoſe honeſt-morall Pagans were to Loyalty? Nothing more hatefull to them than Treachery. This cauſed *Mithridates* to take *Manius Aeilius*, one of the chiefeſt Embaſſadours of the *Romans*, and ſet him contemptuouſly upon an Aſſe, till he was come to *Pergamo*, where he put molten Gold in his mouth: reproving the *Romans* for taking gifts: or to betray the confidence of their Countrey for rewards.

Breach of promiſe held a great diſhonor amongſt the Antients.

Memorable Examples in revenging of Diſloyalty.

The like is reported of *Tarpeia*, that diſloyall Maid, who betraying the gates of the Capitol to the Enemy, onely upon promiſe, that they ſhould throw her the Bracelets which they wore on their left arme, which they accordingly performed, but with other proper gages to recompence her diſloyalty, throwing alſo their Targets, with which ſhe was preſſed to death.

Neither were they leſſe ſtrict in puniſhing ſuch, who in private and Oeconomick affaires ſhewed themſelves diſloyall. This appeared in that nobly-diſpoſed Enemy of *Scaurus Domitius*, who, when a certaine ſervant retaining to *Domitius*, came before the Judiciall Seate to accuſe his Maſter, hee ſent him home to his Maſter with the Tenure of his accuſation. Theſe ancient Sages and Heroick Spirits clos'd not altogether with that

Maxime *Of loving the Treaſon, but hating the Traytor:* For they hated to ſtoope to ſuch baſeneſſe, as to perfect what they intended, or diſpatch ought that they deſigned by ſuch odious and indirect meanes. Nor was a loyall-noble ſpirit ever ſeene unrewarded: perchance, indeed, the iniquity of time might be ſuch, as thoſe who merited a gracious aſpect from their Countrey, might ſometimes fall into diſgrace by undeſerving Offices, ſuggeſting to the State what ſo uſefull an Agent never thought: but this proceeded not ſo much from the ingratitude as the eaſie credulity of the State, in inclining to ſuch groundleſſe ſuggeſtions.

Deſerving men puniſhed by the ſuggeſtions of ill offices.

This might be inſtanced in that unhappy *Aſdrubal*, who to prevent the fury and malice of the people, incenſed againſt him by unjuſt Offices, fled to his Fathers Sepulchre, and diſpatched himſelfe with poiſon: nor found their fury here a period: for from that vaſt ſtructure of mortality, they dragged out his Carcaſſe, and cutting off his Head, put it upon a Speares point, and bare it about the City. But this inhumanity muſt be imputed to that *Democratick* Government or headleſſe Monſter, where all things are uſually acted by a blind precipitate will, without deliberation or advice. Whereas a knowing Prince, who meaſures the value of mens actions by the promptneſſe or alacrity of thoſe ſpirits with which they are done; eyes both the quality of the perſon and action: Nor can any deſigne proceeding from a loyall ſpirit, who ſtands ready

No end of popular hate.

to

to ingage his ſtate, fame, and all for the honour of his Prince or Countrey, looſe his deſerving Guerdon; beſides that high opinion or eſtimate of the Prince, whoſe Count'nance is his honour; whoſe Smile the reward of his labour.

King *Darius* upon a time, by chance opening a great Pomegranate, and being demanded of what hee would wiſh to have, as many as there were graines in that Pomegranate? anſwered in one word, of *Zopyruſſes*. Now this *Zopyrus* was a right noble and valiant Knight, who, to reduce *Babylon* to the ſubjection of his Lord and Maſter, and defeate the trayterous *Aſſyrians*, ſuffer'd his body to be rent and mangled: and being thus diſfigured, fled ſtraight-wayes to *Babylon*, where the *Aſſyrians* were intrenched: whom hee made beleeve that *Darius* had miſuſed him in this ſort, becauſe he had ſpoken in their behalfe, counſelling him to breake up his Siege, and remove his Army from aſſaulting their City: They hearing this Tale, and the rather induced to thinke it true, becauſe they ſaw him ſo ſhamefully diſfigured in his body, were perſwaded to make him their chiefe Captaine. By which meanes he betrayed them all, and ſurrendred both them and their City into his Maſters hands. Such an Adamantine tye to his Princes heart was a loyall Subject, who little car'd how hee were brought to the ſtake, ſo hee might advance the honour of the publick State.

Plut. initio Apothteg. Regum.

Juſtin. lib. 1. in fine.

What more delightfull Subject can be imagined, than to converſe (and that without perill)

of

of the dangerous events of Warre? of the divers diſpoſitions of Princes; raiſings and razings of Empires: Some ſhaken by the vitiouſneſſe of the people which inhabite them, being ſo long ſecure, till ruine impoſe a period to their ſecurity: Some by (civill and inteſtine Factions) making their deareſt Countrey the ſad Spectator of their Funeralls; their entireſt friends, their profeſſed foes; and the argument of love and amity, the ground of civill diſſentions: The cauſe whereof (for the moſt part) proceeds from a continued peace; for retiredneſſe from forraigne affaires, make us bent to proſecute Managements domeſtick; and the over-flow of ſucceſſe (purchaſed by peace) makes men more capable of injuries, even to their beſt friends. This was the reaſon moved *Athens* to erect places of Martiall Exerciſes, (even in peace) that ſo the Youths being dayly inured to ſuch Exerciſes, might imploy their ſtrengths in them, and not in civill Commotions. This wee have by relation of Hiſtories, which ſo manageth affaires of State, as I am of that Sages opinion, who averred: That no man could be an experienc't Statiſt, that was not initiated in the reading of Hiſtories; which hee confirmes with reaſons no leſſe Authentick, calling them the apteſt and exquiſiteſt directions that can attend man, either in publick or private affaires, at home or abroad. Divers therefore of our famous Senators in *Rome*, have employed their times in theſe Studies; as *Saluſt*, whoſe wel-couch'd Style, ſuccinct Sentences, and pure-

neſſe

Security the ruine of Soveraignty.

Civill Warres leave in a diſtracted State the deepeſt wounds.

How ſtudious the *Romans* were of Hiſtories.

neſſe of Writing, may arrogate, if not the chiefeſt place; yet to be inſerted amongſt the chiefeſt: *Varro* one of reputed eſteeme, and of ample poſſeſſions, tooke in hand the like taske, to illuſtrate his Native Tongue, not onely with apt and accommodate phraſes, but likewiſe to compile the memorable acts of the *Romans*, and to reduce them into an exact order; to excite his Countrymen, by peruſing the valiant attempts of their Anceſtors: *Eorum gloriâ inflammari ad eandem virtutis exercitationem ſuſcipiendam:* To be inflamed and provoked, by their renowne and glory atchieved, to imitate them in the like. And there is nothing certainly that leaveth more deepe impreſſion in a reſolved minde, than the report of former exploits; Hearing this man by his induſtry and vigilant reſpect, to contemne all difficulties, oppoſe himſelfe to all dangers, whereby hee might performe ſomething worthy memory: Another (ſuſtaining *Herculean* Labours) to purchaſe himſelfe but a little glory. This man ſubjected to Sea-wracks, expoſed to the mercy of the Winds, environed and hemmed in by imminent dangers; yet moderating his paſſions, armes himſelfe againſt the perils of Sea, adverſe Windes, the menaces of ruine, with reſolution to endure the worſt of Fates, ever meditating of that motive to patience:

Noſcere hoc primum decet,
Quid facere Victor debet, Victus pati.

It was the anſwer of an unamated Captive, who ſlighting the inſulting braves of him who tooke him: "Thou hold'ſt thy conqueſt great "in over-comming me; but mine is farre greater "in over-comming myſelfe. Here was a conqueſt indeed, and ſuch as deſerve trophies of glory, to crowne him with perpetuity.

The *Scythes* uſed to erect Obelisks or Square-ſtones upon the hearſe of the deceaſed, anſwering in number ſo many as he had ſlaine of his enemies: Whereas, he that had not ſlaine an enemy, was not onely deprived of thoſe Monuments of glory, but not ſo much as admitted to drinke of that goblet (ſpiced with his Anceſtors Aſhes) and uſed for an *Health cuppe* in ſolemne Feaſts and banquets. O what memorable Signals of true fortitude deſerves that undaunted Spirit, who can triumph in his owne diſcomfit: and fortifie himſelfe with a prepared mind againſt all oppoſitions!

The excellency of a compoſed minde.

The *Vnicornes* Horne being dipt in water, is ſaid to cleare and purifie it. This will patience do in all thoſe troubled Waters which incloſe a compoſed minde. Theſe finde no griefe of ſo extenſive a quality, which either time will not allay, or Death end. Though they be led in triumph, and expoſed to all the miſeries which a domineering Foe can put upon them; they can ſlight the braves and contemptible ſlavery of a proud Conquerour, and with a cheereſull ſmile entertaine the mutability of Fortune. Such as theſe, are Soveraigne in Captivity, and merit moſt

applauſe

applauſe in their imbracing of adverſity. Beſides this, they reflect with a diſcreete eye, upon what they formerly read: now their confinement affords them leaſure to peruſe what they have obſerv'd in the circuit of their time: and now in their new change or ebbe of fortune they finde no new thing happened. Thoſe, whoſe Victories were numerous; Soveraignty boundleſſe; could not ſo cut the wings of *Victoria*, as to make her their permanent Gueſt. They heare *Antiochus* at one time ſaluted both *Epiphanes*, and *Epiphanes*, a glorious Prince, and a furious Tyrant. They heare *Pompey* combred with honour, exclaime to ſee *Sylla's* cruelty; and being ignorant after what ſort to behave himſelfe in the dignity he had then attained, they heare him cry out: "*O perill and danger never like* "*to have end*!

They ſee a *Philotas* aſpiring, and falling; a *Perennius* conſpiring, and periſhing. They note *Dionyſius* that Syracuſan Tyrant to be ſo ſuſpicious of his fall, ſo jealous of his Fate, as hee will not truſt any Barber to ſhave him, but injoynes his owne daughters to learne that Trade, purpoſely to bee imployed about him. They heare the very ſame *Dionyſius* asking the Wiſe men of his Court, which Copper they held the beſt; and they heare *Antiphons* ready anſwer to his queſtion, that in his opinion, that was the moſt excellent, whereof *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton* made the Picture of *Piſiſtratus*. Holding that Mettall the beſt, which kept a Tyrant

arreſt. Theſe heare the *Lydian* King exclaiming againſt himſelfe, and diſclaiming of his owne Opinion; that felicity ſhould poſſibly retaine any ſubſiſtence from mortality.

Theſe have found the beſt and principall'ſt bleſſing confirmed by the authority of *Herodotus* in *Cleobulus* and *Biton*, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, and that pithy concluſion of *Silenus*, who being taken priſoner by King *Midas*, paid this ranſome; teaching the King, "The "beſt thing that might chance any man, was "never to be borne, the next to dye as ſoone as "might be.

Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1.

A rich ranſome, ſurely! had that worldly deluded King made right uſe of it; for ſo had hee prevented miſery before it fell upon him: and made that an occaſion of his happineſſe, which unthought of, brought him to a more ſenſible conceite of his owne ruine. "Thoſe whom the "Gods doe love (ſaith *Menander*) dye young: yea, thoſe they eſteeme of moſt, whom they take from hence the firſt.

To preſent theſe more impreſſive Motives of Worldly contempt, diſ-eſteeme of Life, Honour, or whatſoever this Sabble Theatre of humane vanity could afford, ſundry Imperiall Princes endowed with ſpirits no leſſe imperious, have contrived many Emblemes, with other Remembrances, purpoſely, no doubt, to avert their affections from ſo much idolatriſing Earthly Majeſty. Amongſt which, you ſhall finde in theſe rich Treaſures of Time, Hiſtoricall Records, an *Agathocles*, though

though a Tyrant, Emblematizing his owne fraile and mutable condition in the invention of his owne Statue: commanding the *Head* to be made of pure *Gold*, implying his Regall Dignity; the *Armes* of *Ivory*, ſignifying how *Iuſtice* from *Execution* receives her beauty; the other *liniments* of *Braſſe*, inferring their ſtrength; but the *Feet* of *Earth*, displaying their frailty.

A princely Embleme of Mortality.

An excellent Memoriall, and well deſerving to be ingraven in pureſt and perpetuall'ſt Metralls. This *Simonides* ſung to *Pauſanias*; this a Page every Morning to *Philip* of *Macedon*: *Reſpice poſt te; hominem memento te.* *Cineas*, that excellent Orator, and ſolid Philoſoper, diſſwading *Pyrrhus* from his expedition againſt the *Romans*, demanded of him, "what he would doe, "when he had conquered them? To whom the "King anſwer'd, I will over-run all *Italy*, *Greece*, & "*Barbary*; and what ſhall we doe next? I will forrage *Cicilia*. And what remains to be done then? "O then, ſaith the covetous Prince, we will live "at eaſe, *Eate*, *drinke*, and be *jovial* together e-"very day. And why, (ſaid *Cineas*) may we not "eate, drink, and be merry with *leſſe*, enjoy what "we have with *comfort*; and eſchue thoſe inevi-"table labours and perills, whereto our ambition "and inſatiable deſire of honour ingage us?

Μέμνησο ἄνθρωπος ὢν.

But this was too hard a queſtion; Ambition can admit of no Reaſon. He onely h'as abſolute power to confine his deſires, who ſeeth nothing without him, which he conceives worthy of him. Such an one h'as meaſur'd Mans life, and hee

A narrow spanne.

'Οκίας ὄνειρος ἄνθρωπος. Pindar.

findes it to be a ſpan; which hee ſhall neither fall ſhort of, nor exceed; no not one title or point of it; not the breadth of the ſmalleſt haire, or *Atome*; no, not the rare-ſpun *Gothſimere*; the ſubtileſt linke of the Spider; or any other extenuated or imaginary thinneſſe whatſoever. He calls *Death* and *Sleepe* two Siſters; and *Night* the Mother of them both. Hee holds the *Locuſt* or the *Graſhopper* (though Creatures of emptineſſe and feare) no greater ſlaves of the winde than Man: yea, to ſet him out in his colours, and diſcover to the world, that his vanity ranks him with the lighteſt of Gods Creatures: Hee findes him toſſed to and fro as the *Graſhopper*, and driven away as the *Locuſt*. Hee obſerves, how the Sunne, when it is in the *Meridian*, and the beams of it perpendicular to our bodies, ſhadows change not ſuddenly: but when it begins to decline to the fall, every moment, almoſt, they vary. And ſuch hee concludes, is Man; who, though in his ſtrength and maturity of Nature, he find no ſuch changes or alterations in the ſtate of his body, as may ſeeme to menace to his declining houſe an approaching ruine: yet, that curious and delicious ſtructure, that earthly contexture of man, when it ſhall begin once to decay, and looſe his former ſtrength, every day brings forth a change. One infirmity or other hourely invades him; and at laſt, ſo weakens his poore ſplitted veſſell, as no truce will be admitted, no reſpit granted, hee muſt of neceſſity returne to thoſe *firſt materialls*, from whence hee firſt proceeded.

We

Wee see the *Crowne* of Honour set with great solemnity upon the head, but wee feele not the *weight* of it; which makes him sweat and shake hands with *Rest* that weares it. Wee behold the golden Pantofle, but feele not how grievously it pincheth the foote. We eye and admire the reflecting beauty of a massie-guilt Target, or imbossed Armour, but partake not of his burden, who is the wearer.

The greatest Worldling ever carries the heaviest weight; the ambitious-aspiring minde ever harbours the most care: the enjoyer of Honour, the most feare. The scourge of *Envy* from below, and *Ambition* from above, doe hurt Honour to death. He enjoyes sufficiently, that has learn'd to be a Soveraigne over his owne passions: and to restraine the surging billows of an over-flowing will, to the command of Reason. No Principality like this: for it brings man to an higher Imperiall State, than all the deluding promises of this spongie world can possibly afford him.

These Observations are Recelpts, or Cordials against the maladies of Fortune: A man thus resolved, cannot be lesse than a Prince; for hee governes a Dominium more domineering, an Empire more imperious, a Diarchy, or Monarchy rather: having disconsorting affections, over laying Siege and Battery to the Palace of the Soule, which moved *Plutarch* in his Morals definitively to conclude: *That he who moderated his affections, was lesse vertuous; but hee that never past the bounds*

bounds and limits of temperate motives, nor felt the deluding enforcements of vanity assaulting him, was wholly vertuous. But the Morals proposition was better than his conclusion: For no mortall (since the staine of his Originall Purity) could ever subsist so secure, or remaine so unmoveable, as never to be engaged to perturbations, the naturall attendants of Mortality.

Division of Histories; Divine, Discursive, Morall, Physicke, or mixt.

IN this first entrance to my discourse, having spoken some-thing in generall, of the use and fruit of History: having by an (equall Diameter) determined the proper place and Centre at which such Historicall Relations ought to tend: I will descend to the division of Histories, which may properly branch themselves into Divine, Discursive, Morall, Physick, or Mixt.

FOr Divine, I will not comprehend them in my Discourse, being such as depend on their owne Arches, drained from the pure Spring of Cœlestiall Wisedome, and therefore impossible to erre either in Action or Relation: yet necessarily (now and then) immixed with Morall Histories, because their weight may better peise in the Scale of every Judicious Reader, when he seeth Morall Discourse so well fortified, as by the Pillar of Truth. Albeit I approve of *Hesiods* words: *Fabulous Relations should not, nor ought*

In Nest & Die

they

they to be authorized by Holy Writings. It was a Pagans observation, and worthy ours: So should our prophane Pamphleters, restraine their libidinous writings more, and either write that which should propagate themselves a generall reputation, without derogation to the sacred Writings of the Almighty, or silence their works; lest they should deprave many, for a private reward, or pedling gaine. More I insist upon this, because too many have I knowne steeped in this promiscuous Subject, well read in Scripture, to wrest them, otherwise Babes and Sucklings; for they could not reach to the depth of such Mysteries, but onely touch them to corrupt them. But their *Cimmerian* Cloud, when it shall be dispersed, and the Raies of a reasonable understanding to them exhibited: They will repent them, I feare it not, (and heavens grant that repentance be not like the after raine, out of season) of their prophaner mixtures. O let them turne their eye of consideration (whosoever they be) to the miserable end of *Lucian*, *Cleander*, *Metrodorus*, whose disastrous falls answered their blasphemous risings; contemning the Sacred Writ of Heaven, and prostituting their labours to the merited censure of confusion: But too much of them. Times are not so easie to be wained from their habit of errour, or induced to a course of more Sanctimony: Lampes and Oyly Studies were made fruitlesse at *Epictetus* death; his Lanthorne hung up (as a monument of his vertues) made a deeper impression in his Schollers,

Such as corrupt the Text, and racke the Sacred Sense with their enforced Allegories.

Not to mixt Sacred with prophane. *Vid. Lypsium in præscript. in lib. de const.*

Corrupters of Scripture.

than all our Motives, Precepts, or Examples can doe: in ours that Age was more apprehensive of Good, this of Ill.

Discursive Histories.

NOw to our Discursive Histories. Many discourse without matter, onely descanting upon idle Theames: more observed for their idlenesse, than for any subject whereon they entreate: Such be foolish Phantasticks that spend their Oyle upon unnecessary Subjects. I have apprehended many of this vaine, but they shall be nameleſſe, talking of strange Horse-races, such as their barren Muse never conceived: others of Fabulous Histories, never found out by that Arch-Artist Nature, whence they derived their foundation; for such, I passe untouched, being such as they hardly conceive their owne writings.

Division of Discursive Histories.

Discursive Histories are either true or feigned: If true, they comprehend in them a certaine ground; not onely fortified by a reasonable production, but also by the authority of such, whose Authentiqu'st Labours claime to themselves, a kinde of Authority without further proofe: Such wee read to be the Labours of *Cornelius Tacitus*, *Titus Livius*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and many others, whose Subjects confirme their authority: being such as represent the divers events of things done, by Historicall Relation, and Ocular Presentation. For divers of those worthy Historiographers have beene interrested even in such probable,

bable, and generally-allowed diſcourſes by perſonall preſence, in the management of ſuch affaires: as *Commines*, of all Hiſtories (amongſt our Moderne) moſt approveable, being an eye-witneſſe of what he writ.

Faithfull Hiſtorians.

And herein me thinkes, I ſhould take occaſion, to recommend an imployment no leſſe delightfull than conſequently uſefull to ſuch of our *Gentry* as are adidcted to *Travaile*, or *Martiall Diſcipline*; to have ever with them a *Diary* or *Ephemerides* of whatſoever they have at any time ſeene preſented worthy memory, or acted in the time of their ſervice or agency there. I ſhould hold it convenient likewiſe for them to become their owne *Amanuenſes*: by compiling and methodically diſpoſing ſuch memorable Obſervances, as occurre either at home or abroad. This courſe will recompence their few houres labour, to their great improvement; and in arguments of *Diſcourſe* miniſter no ſmall delight to an underſtanding Hearer. For admit the memory were never ſo retentive; yea, that it might vye with that of *Cyrus*, who could call every Souldier in his Army by name; yet to make it a *Store-houſe* or *Repoſitory* of whatſoever we have ſeene or heard, would argue too much confidence in ſuch a fraile-decaying ornament: for of all faculties in man, *Memory* is the weakeſt, firſt waxeth old, and decaies ſooner than ſtrength or beauty. *Prima ſumus obliti, poſtrema non intelleximus, quia prima non meminimus.* An excellent Moral Caveat, and well-deſerving our learning in theſe times.

An imployment of eſpeciall conſequence recommended to our Gentry.

Labor tenuis eſt, tenuis non gloria.

I could inſtance divers noble Perſonages even in this Kingdome, who have riſen to an extraordinary pitch of Wiſedome, Knowledge, and Elegancy of *Diſcourſe* by this meanes. Theſe in their forraigne intereſſes, would admit no *day* without a *line*. Privately they recorded whatſoever they had ſeene publickly atchieved. They ſifted the diſpoſitions of men; and reduced the benefit hereof, by complying with them, unto themſelves. Theſe Notions fit and enable them for State affaires; and in imployments of Embaſſie. An office of eſpeciall improvement to the State, being diſcreetly and wiſely managed: For the Perſon ſo imployed, preſents in his owne, the very Face or Image of the Commonweale. For the better diſcharge whereof, that he may come off faire, and returne his Prince a gratefull account of what he ha's done, it is neceſſary for him to reteine ever in memory thoſe Speeches of a grave and judicious Stateſman, by way of direction in his moderation of Speech.

"He that knoweth how to ſpeake well, know-
"eth alſo where he muſt hold his peace. Wiſe-
ly concluding: "Thinke an houre before you
"ſpeake, and a day before you promiſe.

Many, and peculiar be thoſe prerogatives granted him; which, as they are exerciſed by him to the honour of the State from whence he came, ſo is he to neglect no opportunity for diſpatch of thoſe affaires for which he came. To reteine a ſeemely-modeſt State without affectation, will infinite-

infinitely become him, for that ſuits worſt with his perſon of all others. He is privileg'd from ſuffering abuſe or diſhonour; in the ſame line of relation is he to beare himſelfe towards another. For in this is the Law of Nations exhibited, that he neither harme, nor receive harme from others. Albeit, hee may ſtill enjoy the benefit of this priviledge, till ſuch time as hee recede from his place or Office; that hee may uſe in his owne family the Sword of Juſtice to any ſuch as ſhall utter words of diſgrace againſt the Prince, or ſhall defile any mans Wife: neither is the Legat himſelfe exempted from like puniſhment, being found in any of theſe a perſonall delinquent. For howſoever that Maxime of State be, That none is to handle the Sword, but he who holds the Sceptre; yet a Deputative power hath beene ever granted, which rather improves than detracts from his Majeſty by whom it is granted. Now, to inſiſt a little more upon their Dignity; they are neither properly ſent by Subjects, nor to Subjects. Their Commiſſion is from the Prince or State directed, not by any lower Power addreſſed: where, though the Common-weale ſeeme abſent, yet is the Common-weales cauſe argued in preſence. And that a more abſolute power or Soveraignty may appeare in him by whom theſe Agents are ſent, than in the perſons herein intereſſed and ſent, to ſpeake in one word what duely and properly concernes them; They are upon Returne home, to

render an accompt of their whole paſſage: wherin ſhould they complaine, that the Prince or State to whom they were ſent, had rejected, abuſed, or any way injured them, by the *Iulian Law*, ſuch an one was accuſed to have done contrary to the Law of Armes.

A Law of the Digeſts.

Theſe, by helpe of *Hiſtory*, finde likewiſe what reſolution is required in one ſo intereſſed; and in what manner he is to behave himſelfe upon affronts done either upon himſelfe, or to him whom he doth perſonate. Amongſt many other Inſtances, he conceives no ſpirit more appropriate to one in that place, than of that Ambaſſador of *Athens*, who anſwered King *Philip* of *Macedon*, threatning that hee would cauſe his Head to be cut off: "If thou takeſt this Head "from me, my Countrey will give me another "that ſhall be immortall: for my Head, a Statue; "for Death, Immortality.

Statuam pro Capite, pro Morte Immortalitatem.

Memorable Examples of this kind are every where to be found, in this unvaluable Storehouſe or Treaſury of Time, *Hiſtory*.

But in ample tearmes to explaine what the condition of an Hiſtorian is, let me in briefe, yet materiall words, expreſſe what hee meanes: Not ſuch as inveigh againſt States, or politicke Governments, for ſuch are rather Satyriſts, than Hiſtorians; nor ſuch as perſonate the entire acts of a Martialiſt, by aſſentative tearmes; which are ſuch as inſinuate themſelves by a gloſing Style to winne the affection of their Patron. Leſſe to be borne with be theſe, than the other, ſubjecting the

Satyricall Hiſtorian, and the Sycophant Hiſtorian.

the free uſe of Hiſtory to a Paraſite and oylie tongue: which moved *Alexander* ſo exceedingly againſt *Ariſtobulus*, as that on a time hearing his owne Acts deblazoned farre above truth, he commanded his Labours ſhould be throwne over Boord: ſaying, *He was almoſt induced to throw* Ariſtobulus *after*: A caveat very neceſſary for all clawing Paraſites that make their Pen *Mercenary*, and therefore, as may be inferred upon their workes, dare not unrip the vitiouſneſſe of times; leſt by unboſoming Truth, they ſhould incurre the offence of ſome perſon, to whom their labours are ingaged, their fortunes ſubjected, and their endeavours partially devoted.

Plato baniſhed all Poets *Athens*: but a favourable Gloſſe would reſtraine that *Oſtraciſme* onely to peculiar wits, (petulant I meane) ſuch as the Prince of *Sparta* proſcribed his well-governed City, for preſenting ſome obſceene Verſes to his Queene. But I wonder why *Plato* excluded not theſe Hiſtorians, ſince their Labours were proſtitute (like the publick Strumpet) for gaine, making their Writings to the opinion and imitation of that Scarabee of Hiſtory, who being demanded why he wrote not truth of ſuch a Prince; replyed: *Vivit, quis vera dicet?* His life kept him in awe, he durſt not expreſſe his vices to the quicke, leſt he ſhould bite too much.

Hero & Leëna.

This that experienc'd, but unfortunate Knight well obſerved, as may appeare by his owne words: "Whoſoever in writing a Moderne "Hiſtory, ſhall follow Truth too neare the heeles,

Sr. W. R.

"heeles, it may happily ſtrike out his teeth.

Wherein I commend the incomparable *Theano*, who is ſo cautious in his Hiſtoricall Notions of what he writes, as hee will commit nothing to publick, which hath not beene firſt confirm'd both by ſtrong Intelligence and Subſignation under the hands of the eminent'ſt perſons there reſiding, where any ſuch action paſt. Nor is he ſpare in the relation of what he heares; ſo it import the Subject whereof hee writes: Though Princes ſhould ſollicit him by rewards, hope of higher preferment; he cannot endure to have his Pen ſold, nor to comply with the humour or current of Time for any unworthy ayme.

It was the excellent ſaying of an impartiall *Hiſtorian*, who being demanded by One who had reduced his Empire to a meere Tyranny; why he remembred not him in his Writings? "Becauſe "(quoth he) I read nothing in you worth remem-"bring. Why doeſt thou not then (replyed he) "record my Vices? Leſt others (ſaid he) ſhould "erre by your Example, and ſo imitate them. It is the higheſt honour of an Hiſtorian, to be accounted *ſincere*. As hope of Honour ſhould not tranſport him, hope of Reward corrupt him, nor ayme to any outward comply divert him from ſpeaking Truth: ſo ſhould no commanding power over-aw him, to betray his knowledge, or to ſow pillows to the Elbowes of Greatneſſe. This endangers his credit for ever, and throws a contempt on his Labour.

Many

Many there are, who deſcribe things rather as they ſhould be done, than as they were done. This is not to make a diſcovery of truth, but to propoſe a forme or Method of what ſhould bee done according to truth. The lives of Princes, and their actions were ever held Modells of imitation for Inferiours. Their very behaviour, were it in ſome geſture never ſo uncomely, h'as ever begot Followers in perſons of meaner quality. To rectifie theſe, nothing more powerfull, than to produce more cleare and imitable Examples; that in them, as in living Mirrors, they might diſcover their owne Errors.

A rule how to rectifie imitation of Errors; by Hiſtoricall directions.

It was the ſaying of *Antiſthenes*, that thoſe that would live free from vice, had need either of moſt unfeigned friends, or of moſt bitter enemies; becauſe, the one by his admonition, or the other by his reproach might withdraw him from vice. Whence *Diogenes* being aſked, how one ſhould be revenged of his enemy? anſwered, by being a vertuous and honeſt man; for his integrity would beget him ſuch a common conceit of extraordinary vertue, as hee who maligned him, would hardly endure to frequent any place, where he feared to heare his Enemies praiſe.

Naſica, when the Roman Common-weale was ſuppoſed to be in moſt ſecure eſtate, becauſe freed of their enemies, affirmed, that though the *Achaians* and *Carthaginians* were both brought under the yoak of bondage, yet they were in moſt danger, becauſe none were left whom they might ei-

States, when seeming most secure from their enemies, ought to be least secure in their owne confidence]

feare for danger, or who should keepe them in awe. This caused *Oenomaderus* in a Faction in the Isle of *Chios* to counsell his fellows, that they should not expulse all their Enemies, but still leave some in the City; "Lest (quoth he) being "freed of all our Enemies, we should begin to "quarell with our friends.

Most certaine it is, that very few in all our preceding Ages, unlesse they were such *Philosophicall Kings*, as *Plato* wish'd them to bee, could in the height of their fortunes, endure reproofe; especially in such publicke manner, as to be recorded by an Historicall penne. For one *Alexander*, who could not endure *Aristobulus* praising him above truth, wee might produce tenne *Alcibiades*, who could not abide *Eupolus* for taxing him according to truth. But to deliver our Opinion freely of discourses in this kind: Actions are so to be laid open, as the Agent may either receive honour, or suffer in them. For if in our private Accompts, wee will be cautious enough, lest any thing be omitted or inserted more than should be: much more in these Accompts or Registers of Time. They then, that intereſſe themselves in Labours of this nature, are not in their Compilations, to eye any mans person. More incomparably-beautifull is the *Truth* of *Christians*, than that imparalel'd *Helen* of the *Grecians*. Those that write lesse than the state of their History requires, may be properly called the *Moaths* of *Epitomes*, as *Epitomes* of *Histories*. Those that write more, make their

August. Epist. 9. ad Hieron.

fictitious

fictitious *Comments*, rather Gloſſes than Glaſſes of Time: containing in them an Ocean of words, but a drop of Truth. Nor are precious Houres to be ſo miſ-ſpended, their Oyle ſo waſted, when every Line ſhould ſurvive the vading period of Life, and reſerve to poſterity a continuate Storie of their Predeceſſors Actions.

Mans life may be moſt properly compared to a Lampe: for as a Lampe may be three wayes extinguiſhed; Firſt, by outward violence, as when it is blowne out: Secondly, by powring in much water, whereby the good liquor of the Oyle is drowned and corrupted: and thirdly, by the waſt and ſpending of the Oyle it ſelfe: So likewiſe a Mans life (which in truth reſembles much the nature of a Lampe) is extinguiſhed by three wayes and meanes; to ſecond her reſemblance both in the appearing and extinguiſhing; firſt, by externall force, to wit, of the Sword, fire, ſtrangling, preſſing, poyſoning, and the like: Secondly, through the aboundance of ill humours, or the malignant quality of them, whereby the *Radicall humour* is oppreſt and overthrowne: Thirdly, when the *Radicall humour* is in long ſpace of Time quite conſumed by the Naturall heate, and blowne out into the Ayre; which is done after the ſame manner, that boyling water or Oyle is waſted by the heate of the fire. *Leſſius in Hygiaſticon.*

Now, as *Radicalis humor* is *in Corpore*, ſo is *Veritatis amor in Corde*: Which divine vigour, when it is corrupted or impaired by any vitious or malignant humour, it looſeth her light. Now, An apt reſemblance of the humours in the body, to the qualities of the minde.

what is this humour which ſo darkens this divine vigour or truth of an Hiſtorian; but partiality? which ſtreames either from the weake and ſhallow Channels of *Puſillanimity*; or the muddy Inlet of *baſe commodity*. For the former ſort, their Spirits are too weake for ſuch a Taſke: for ſuch as will ſuppreſſe Truth, or obſcure the light of their Hiſtory, by ſuffering themſelves to be over-awed by Authority, are fitter to be imploy'd in diſcourſing of the *Pigmeis* warres, or of the battell of the *Frogs* and *Mice*, than any eminent action. For the latter, their diſpoſitions are ſo unworthy, as they are never to be admitted within the Liſt of an Hiſtory: for theſe preferre traſh before truth, and ſo far under-value that uſefull imployment whereto they ſtand ingaged, as they loſe themſelves by deriving gaine from that, which ſhould be from all ſervile fetters freed. Let the firſt conſider, how unfit they are to converſe with Princes precedent, which in their readings they daily doe; who are ſo over-awed by the Countenance of times preſent, as overcome with feare, they ſilence that which ſhould have bin the activeſt Scene in all their Subject. This many times makes a lame diſcourſe: when to ſupply actions of higher conſequence, they impe in needleſſe trifles: ſuch as neither require an *Hiſtorians* labour, nor recompence the loſt time of the Reader. THAT conceited Treatiſe cõpoſed by an *Italian*, entit'led *A Supplication to Candle-light*; diſcovering the abuſes cõmitted & curtained by the ſilent & ſecret ſhade of night, deſerv'd high approvement in compariſon of theſe.

He

Hee lighted his Lamp purpoſely to diſcover vice; theſe put out their lights, leſt they ſhould ſuffer for their diſcovery of vice. O! that theſe would but apply that divine ſentence ſomtimes uttered with no leſſe courage than comfort by a devout father: "*In ſuch a cauſe, wherein my deſire is to pleaſe God, "I little feare the power of man.* So they in a buſines of ſuch conſequence as imports the benefit of State, the advancement of truth, are not to be puſillanimous, but diſcreetly reſolute; that neither too much boldnes may deſervingly taxe them of indiſcretion: nor remiſneſſe, of too much want of ſpirit nor irreſolution. Let the latter, likewiſe, privately converſe with his owne thoughts: and weigh with himſelfe, what a baſe or ſordid gaine it is, to purchaſe to himſelfe honour or preferment by untruths. A Lye is held a word of diſhonour, onely ſpoke by the mouth: what a deepe taint or impreſſion wil it reteine, ſtanding on record? Now to prevent the meanes of publiſhing Subjects of this kind, for profit ſake, as many of our unauthorized Novells have of late times beene publiſhed; thoſe fore-running ages allowed ample Penſions for their Authors; ſuch as might in a good meaſure, without a neceſſitated beholdingnes to any, maintaine thē: leſt want of means might corrupt their pen, by making that mercenary, which ſtood ever priviledg'd, and retein'd in it ſelfe a native liberty. For ſhould privat rewards ſoile the purity of an *Hiſtory*, what might become free? The Acts of his *Benefactor*, were they never ſo obſcure or ignoble, ſhould receive a gracefull immeri-

Ambroſ. in Indict.

Ample penſions allowed in former times to Hiſtorians.

immerited expreſſion: Meane time, the Actions of whomſoever he maligned, were ſure to have their brand, were they never ſo deſervingly approved or eminent.

This is no ſquare dealing; and in all times much hated; yea, and highly cenſured, as may appeare by ſundry Ancient-Hiſtoricall Records, which for brevity ſake I here omit, referring them to the *Roman Annals*, where they may be ſtored with variety of Inſtances in this kind.

Now, as *Plato* in his *Dialogue* entitled *Sympoſium*, by way of Fiction deſcribeth the difference betwixt two kinds of *Venus*: whereof, the firſt was more ancient, brought forth by the *Heavens*, whom *vertuous* men doe follow: the ſecond much younger, begotten betweene *Iupiter* and *Dione*, whom *wicked* men doe ſerve: So ſay I of theſe, whom wicked men doe ſerve, or rather ſerve wicked men, by complying with their humours, either for feare of cenſure, or ambitious hope of honour; let them withdraw, they are not to be enter'd here in Checkroule: while with a free and affectionate embrace, theſe onely are to be entertained, who ſcorne to humour time, either for hope of immerited honour, or ſervile profit.

Indeed, I muſt acknowledge there ſhould be a reverend and modeſt concealing of ſuch Perſonages in criminall cauſes, ſo the bounds of the Hiſtory can admit it. And ſometimes a Native puſillanimity reſtraines us to ſpeake that which wee know, becauſe ſilence (as the wiſe Sage ſaid) never

A modeſt caution for all Hiſtorians.

never occaſioned ſo great offence as Speech. And *Veritas odium parit*, is a Motto for theſe dayes too probable, too well authoriſed; where ſinnes goe with impunity, adorning their growth with a faire out-ſide, to ſecond that Tyrant of *Syracuſa* propoſition: *Et quis corriget? quis audet prodere, ſi crimen audias?* Sure ſuch tyrannizing Subjects, or Objects rather of feare, muſt needs be terrible to the poore Hiſtorian: He cannot ſhew *Iulus Canius* ſpirit, ſpit in the face of Tyranny: Hating by a modeſt ſilence to pamper Vice, though reprehenſion coſt him a gage, hee could redeeme with nothing ſave life: Such was that *Cordus* (the *Roman* Hiſtorian) who for ſpeaking truth was cenſured unworthily.

Quam-plures vidi incidiſſe peccatum loquendo, vix autem quenquã tacendo. Ambroſ. *in lib. de Offic.*

But if Princes or Potentates ſhould exactly obſerve the courſes and revolutions of times, the ſubſequent degrees of ruine and depoſition (vices Apologized) they would commend ſuch an Hiſtorian (and no leſſe deſertfully) who employeth his Time, waſteth his Oyle, and macerates himſelfe in the ſcrutinie of true Relations, by conferring Hiſtories together; and with a Judicious approbation, or electing power, extract whatſoever may ſeeme moſt probable and authentick.

The Commendation of a ſincere Hiſtorian.

Many worthy Statiſts have deſired, and in themſelves no leſſe deſerved (though perhaps ſome little ſparke of vaine-glory may ſeeme to appeare in them) to have their memorable Acts recorded: as *Cicero* his withſtanding *Cateline*, *Cato* his oppoſing *Cæſar*, *Solon* his *Piſiſtratus*, and

and *Demoſthenes* his *Philip*: their acts recounted, and committed to memory, induce others to the like attempts: and like a coole Arbour to a wearied paſſenger, yeelds no leſſe delight to themſelves; which *Perſius* ſeemes covertly to ſhadow in his firſt Satyre: *Et pulchrum eſt digito monſtrari & dicier hic eſt.* This finger is Hiſtory, which truely demonſtrates the life of the perſon, characters his vertues, or vices; diſpoſing every particular member and branch of his diſcourſe in ſuch exact method, that it reſembles a faire beautifull building, which yet deſerves more commendations for the contrivement, than the outward and gariſh Garniſhment. *Ædes opera ſunt, quæ ſi culsè extruantur, minus reſtat, ſi minus ſumptuoſè.* True; Bookes Hiſtoricall have no better beauty (nor indeed can they) than an apt and methodicall diſpoſition: other accomplements are ſuperfluous, reſembling ſome of our workes now and then publiſhed, with faire and beautifull Frontiſpieces, as if ſome worthy conveyances (rare buildings of Art and Nature) were within ſo comely portalls. But alas! looke inward, nought but rubbiſh and refuſe of ſome old building, unhandſomely repaired; or ſome frothy invention, not worth halfe ſo much coſt: Theſe ſhould feare (as the Philoſopher told the *Mindians*) leſt their whole Labours ſhould flye out at their gate, having their gate ſo promiſing, their Labour ſo immeriting. But ſuch as goe *ad prælum tanquam ad prælium* (for ſo indeed they doe) furniſh themſelves aforehand with exacteſt

Fruitleſſe labours.

Labours,

Labours, to ſtand in defiance againſt the ſpirit of detraction: for we cannot fortifie our workes againſt all Aſſailants: ſome being addicted to carpe, becauſe long cuſtome hath confirmed in them a deſire of reprehenſion.

Ælianus in his Naturall Hiſtory reports, how the Vipers iſſue is the bane and death of the Parent: Certainly, as *Libri* are our *Liberi*, our children, which wee ſhould be as carefull and provident in bringing up, as the Father over his child: ſo oftentimes they play the Vipers with us, they murder us in our name and reputation, much diſparraging their Parents, being prizeleſſe, and therefore unfit for preſſe: nay, they doe more, they oftentimes aſperſe an imputation upon Her that ſhould be no leſſe deare (if not more) unto us, than our ſelves, our *Countrey*: making her flowery boſome a nouriſher of fruieleſſe labours, a ſtale to licentious Libells, or Brothell rather of laſcivious meaſures. And how ſhall we make anſwer for ſo many motives to luſt, ſo divers inforcements to inordinate affections, and ſo temporizing ſubjects in humouring great ones, and ſoothing Vice in her Majeſty? *Debemur morti nos noſtraq;*: where our workes muſt abide ſcanning, and that by a Judicious cenſurer; one that can unrip the ſecreteſt of imagination, and knows the Bent of our purpoſes. Licentious Libells.

It was an excellent ſaying of Judicious *Caſmerus*: *Parum eſt legere aut colligere, ſed intelligere, & in formam redigere; hoc artis, hoc laboris eſt.* Would Authors make uſe of this, they would

not in ſo impoliſh'd nor uncompos'd a forme ſend forth their Cubbs before they be lick't: nor ſet their fruitleſſe braines a worke in publiſhing ſuch uſeleſſe Labours, as have no proper Object whereto they may ſeeme to ayme, but an itching deſire of being in Print: to have a Name amongſt Authors; albeit, many times that Name redound to their diſhonour. Theſe may be compared to thoſe *uncleane beaſts*, who never chew their Cud. It is a Divine Poſition: "*He that goes to meditate*; "*before he be prepared, that man takes in hand to* "*build an houſe before ſtones be gath'red.* What ſhall we judge of him, who without ſtudy or premeditation ſets hand to paper: as if Works of that nature were onely Manuall, and no braine-labour? How miſerably are their judgments darkned, or rather how pitifully are ſuch deluded, who hope to receive life, or reteine eſteeme from ſuch Spider-caules? Wherein our pregnant'ſt and refinedſt Wits are many times moſt conſcious.

A calamo magis quam cerebro, ſcrinio quam genio iſtæ elicendæ ſunt telæ, ib.

Wee obſerve, how ſome of our Women are ſo taken with their ſtreight and well-ſhap't bodies, as they would not for a world have Children, leſt they ſhould ſpoyle their feature: nor will theſe *Muſhrome-wits*, who are ever teeming, never ſuffering, betake themſelves to any paines, leſt that burdenous labour might detract from the beauty of Nature. Theſe hold Study an unneceſſary accoutrement for good wits: preſent and pregnant muſt be their Fancy, out of ſome Poëticall rapture or fury: wherein by that individuall

viduall ſpirit of Sacke, they ſtretch and ſtraine their enforced *Genius* to ſuch high lines, as if *Prometheus*-like, they had ſtolne Fire from Heaven, drunk *Hippocrene* dry, or broke open the *Muſes* Cabbinet, and ſoakt thoſe poore Girles of all their influence. Where, ſome in peruſall of theſe Ebrious Lines, will uſually be ſo farre tranſported with them, or more properly, beſotted by them; as they will vow, nothing could be compos'd by any Wit, were it never ſo fluent, upon a faſting or abſtemious ſtomack, like thoſe Conceipts. Nay, that no præmeditation could mend them: being ſo enlivened and full of Spirit, as they were farre more eaſily admired than imitated.

This I muſt confeſſe, is a great happineſſe of Wit; but it confirmes withall that Maxim of the wiſe *Stagyrian*; "*There was never any great wit* "*without ſome mixture of folly*: which may appeare by their diſeſteeme of ſtudy or præmeditation, as if it were a rubbe or *Remora* to invention.

It was *Eucherius* ſaying; *Nihil eſt magnum re, quod breve tempore*: But theſe ſpritely Wits are of another Opinion. They hold no worke nor compoſure worth approvement: which, like an unnaturall Birth, appeares not in his full ſhape upon the inſtant; And of thoſe, none deſerving more admiration than their owne. It was the ſaying of a famous Orator: "*I never knew any* "*Poët (yet was I well acquainted with* Aquinius, "*and many others) who did not thinke his owne do-* "*ings better than all others.* Nor is this ſpeech

of his to be onely restrained to such as professe Poetry, but even generally to every distinct study: which he quickly discovered, who concluded: *Delyrant plerunq; Scriptores in libris suis.*

Now, to contract my Sayles in the prosecution of this Argument; I should hold it no lesse convenient than mainely necessary, that such, who addresse themselves to imployments of this sort, doe use a cautious deliberation both in the election of their Subject, as also in their Style and Method of handling it. Lest, what sometimes the Scriviner by way of derision spoke unto an impertinent Author, be applyed unto them. This Scriviner being on a time in company with a Scholler, who profest himselfe to have Writ much; and having heard a large Catalogue of his obscured Labours: the Scriviner seem'd to challenge an affinity to his profession. "No; that were "absurd, answered the Scholler; why, replyed "the Scriviner? I am a Writer. Yea, but said "the Scholler, I am an Author. No, excuse me, "quoth the Scriviner, I make no doubt of that; "There are more *Writers*, than *Authors*; and "the Catalogue of your Labours enroule you in "that number.

A pretty passage betwixt a Scriviner and a trifling Author.

In one word, those *Workes* onely deserve Approvement, who derive their life and light from Judgment. Such onely merit the Title of *Records*; because they live to posterity: and represent to the Successor whatsoever was imitable or despicable in their Ancestor.

These are Workes to be ingraven in *Cedar*, and

and well-deſerving their *Caſar*. So that, as *Alexander* had his *Homer* in Reverence for his Poëſie; his *Ariſtotle* for ſpeculation and Philoſophy; *Alcibiades* the Inſtructions of *Socrates* to ground him in Piety; *Caſar* the continuall practice of his owne Commentaries to improve his glory; and *Affrican* the workes of *Zenophon* to enable him for occaſions Domeſtick or Military: So theſe memorable Labours, which are thus penned by judicious and induſtrious Authors, merit no leſſe honour, in what State or Province ſoever they ſhall receive harbour.

For others, as corruption of manners is their Scope, or vaine glory their ayme, or ſome other by-reſpect the object of their Pen, they deſerve a due cenſure from the State, for ſeeking ſo odiouſly to poiſon that breſt, which nurſed them.

Thus much I have writ briefly (by way of inference) to caution ſuch as by their Labours erect a Throne for Impiety to ſit in: theſe Humour-mongers, that can with *Caſar* the Dictator, *Atros dies albos facere*, make blacke white, and maſke Vice with a vaile better ſuiting with Vertue: Now will I diſcend to their Oppoſite, and that is, the Satyricall Writer, or *Hiſtorio-maſtix*.

The Satyricall Hiſtorian.

Some of theſe are very dangerous to a State, laying it open too much: and though acts ſhould be related, as they were done: yet, if the circumſtances may ſeeme any way detractive to ſome perſon, or ſtate, they are better ſilenced (if it may ſtand with the body of the Hiſtory) than diſ-

covered. I have knowne ſome too preciſe in this veine: and one eſpecially I remember, who ſpeaking of the great *Sultan*, could not be content to deſcribe his Palace, managements domeſticke and publicke, perſon, and the like; but of his piked Beard, the colour of his ſtockings: and in the end comming neere him, (ſaid he) and indeed nearer than need was, his breath was noyſome. Theſe, and ſuch like impertinent circumſtances are ſo frivolous, that they imply a defect of Judgment in the Author, to inſert ſuch idle, and immateriall Ambages in an Hiſtory of conſequence. But theſe are farre from thoſe *Hiſtorio-maſtixes* of our Time; ſome whereof perſonate the wrongs of a Noble Anceſtor to his lineall Succeſſor, moving him to revenge. This is one of the Furies Brands: for you ſhall never ſee one of this kind, but *à tergo Nemeſis*, hee hath vengeance at his backe; a ſpleenefull diſpoſition diſgorged upon the beſt of deſerts. And thus he inſerts the injuries: "Such a family (well meriting "of Prince and Countrey, and ever found loyall "to the State) was undeſervedly cenſured by the "malevolent ſuggeſtions of ſuch, and ſuch, whoſe "ſuggeſtions are (as yet) unrevenged, but the Hea-"vens are juſt. What Motives more enforcing to civill commotion? Injuries ript up, have oftentimes hazarded States: and there was never any People, Nation, or Government, which have not from time to time had one of theſe. *Therſites*, as deformed in minde as body, (for ſo *Homer* characters him) was ever kindling the flame of civill

Obſerve this humour in the ſeditious and factious Writers of our time.

A true Aphoriſme.

civill combuſtion betwixt *Achylles* and *Agamemnon* at the Siege of *Troy*, about the rape of *Briſeis*; ever harping upon that ſtring to ſet them together by the eares.

Why Achylles, *ſhould you ſuſtaine ſo great reproach, that have engaged your ſelfe for* Agamemnon, *and his Brothers glory? Be all your hopefull Services, your valiant Exploits, your incomparable Atchievements ſo rewarded? Hath* Agamemnon *no place for valour? no regard to honour? Why then deſiſt* Achylles, *embarke your ſelfe for* Greece, *and leave this brave Champion to himſelfe and his fortunes; your merits (being gone) will be better eſteemed. You had but one prize, (and that prize unworthy too of your valour) and muſt that prize, got with much ſweate, many difficulties, imminent dangers, multitude of occurrents, now be taken from you? But one* Briſeis, *one deare one, and yet* Achylles *muſt looſe her. Alas poore reſolution! Why, it is better to be* Ægyſtus, *a Coward, a Recreant, one that retires himſelfe from Armes fighting cloſe under* Clytemneſtra's *Target. Such a Carpet-Knight is better than a Martiall-Knight.* Then would hee preſently move *Agamemnon* in like ſort, in no caſe to moderate his deſires: *Why ſhould* Achylles *have ſo faire a Paramour, and the Prince of* Greece *want one?*

Such Agents of miſchiefe as theſe, are ever of a neutrall Faction: they hover like the *Batte*, uncertaine in adhering to any: they more admire the Sunne when it is *riſing* than *ſetting*. They meaſure the worth or merit of every action by

by the ſucceſſe of it. And when the day is cloſed; the actions of that day finiſhed; they admire nothing more than thoſe Booties which the Conquerour h'as gained. Their Hiſtoricall Relation muſt become a Panegyrick Oration. No Compoſitions too elaborate; no Lines too Elegant, to give life to his conqueſt. Meane time, though the worſer cauſe fared the beſt, as it was with unfortunate *Pompey*: whoſe memory had, no doubt, many Ages ſurvived *Caſars*, had his fortune beene paralel with *Caſars*; they have the Art to magnifie the equity of the Conquerours ſide: and with palpable aſſentation to inſinuate into the affection of ſo commanding a ſpirit. Many glorious Attributes of greatneſſe are theſe ready to deviſe, to honour him that h'as wonne the day. But bitter are their Pens in diſvaluing the Actions of the conquered: in lying aſperſions upon his perſon; diſgracing his Alies: and inventing by all meanes how to advance the Fame of the one, by derogating from the other. This it was (as I formerly obſerved) that induced *Alexander* to conceive ſuch great diſtaſte againſt *Ariſtobulus*, as he was almoſt ready to ſend both him and his Workes together into the River *Hydaſpis*. For there is no noble nor princely diſpoſition, who can endure to heare his conquered Foe diſhonoured: or to ſee any one lead him in Triumph but himſelfe.

When *Caſar* had commanded thoſe demoliſhed Monuments of *Pompey* (Statues reared in his former affluence of Fortune) to be

ſet

ſet up againe, *Cicero* told him, that in erecting *Pompeys* Trophies, he eſtabliſhed his owne. So praiſe-worthy is the compaſſion of a Conqueror, that in this hee deſerves more praiſe, than his victorious prize. Nor is it leſſe noble in him to contemne thoſe ſervile earthy Spirits, who mold their Pens to the inclination of the day: holding him onely worthy honour who got it; and the vanquiſh'd all diſhonour, becauſe his Fortune was more ſiniſter. Whereas the goodneſſe or equity of the Cauſe is not to be meaſured by the Cloze: Many preſt quarrells have produc'd ſtrange effects: yea, ſuch incroaching powers, whoſe onely ground of Hoſtility, was inlarging of their owne Dominions, or enriching their coffers by others fortunes, have received wonderfull ſucceſſe; albeit, ſome Cloud or other in the end eclypſ'd their greatneſſe, and return'd them a juſt and proportionable revenge according to the meaſure of thoſe injuries, which by invaſion, oppreſſion, or uſurpation they had done unto others; as the Lyrick ſometimes ſung:

Quicquid à vobis minor extimeſcet,
Maior hoc vobis Dominus minatur. *Horat.*

As the Great deales with the low,
God will uſe the Great ones ſo.

But to returne to our Diſcourſe: As thoſe who are intereſſed in theſe Military affaires, are to ayme at nothing more than the juſt-

neſſe of their quarrell; which reteines ſtill in it ſelfe a quickning power to the moſt declining ſpirits: ſo are thoſe who undertake the recommending of thoſe actions done, with a competible Pen, to relate the grounds and occaſions of their comming on; of paſſages during the warre, with the event or iſſue thereof; without ſiding or complying with either part; either for Country, or any other private ingagement. As for thoſe, who (as *Optatus* ſpeakes in another ſence) are all for *Time*, nothing for *Truth*: or, as *Themiſtius* ſometimes ſpoke of the *Acacians*, who by complying with the Emperour, and applying themſelves to his pleaſure, juſtly gained the name of *Iouinians*, aſcribe more reverence to the *Purple* than *Perſon*; Their workes may receive breath for a time, but cannot promiſe any continued fame.

Aſſentatores non Deum ſed Purpuram coluiſſe, &c.

It was a Speech worthy the Mouth of *Traian*: *Hoc prome ritere, ſi iuſta impetraverem, contra me, ſi injuſta.* His deſire was no longer to reigne than he reigned well. The hearts of his people hee ſought not to winne by any ſoveraignizing way: for he found thoſe paths full of perill. Nor by pretending goodneſſe, or ſhrowding cloudy deſignes with faire pretences, for thoſe hee ſhunned, becauſe unſoundly grounded. And as the Fiſh *Sepia* is bewrayed by a blacke colour, which ſhe caſteth out to cover her: ſo this duſky vapour of diſſembling being once diſperſed, would bring him to a diſcovery, and by degrees to ruine. This had he read in the Tragicall Cataſtrophe of *Tiberius*,

berius, who gloried in nothing ſo much as in cunningly cloaking his private purpoſes with guilded glozes, faire pretences, going inviſible, and deluding his Subjects reſolutions with a *ſeeming good*.

Faire ſemblances poized with their incommodities, prove oftentimes fruitleſſe, tedious, or noxious, as the *Italian* Proverbe implyeth:

Chi habianco Cavallo, et bella moglie
No vive mai Sanſa doglie.

This he diſcovered in others miſery, which ſufficiently inform'd him to ſhun ſuch Preſidents of impiety. Nor ſought this brave Prince to ingratiate himſelfe in the affections of his people, by an indiſcreete bounty: for the fatall effects of ſuch indiſpoſed *Sowers* of their Fortunes, he read deepely charactred in the looſe and laviſh reignes of *Vitellius*, *Commodus*, *&c.* For theſe, howſoever they might ſeeme to have free hearts, they had weake and ſhallow Conceits: in diſtinguiſhing the merit of the perſon to whom they ſhow'd, or rather ſhowr'd downe their bounty. He, who could time it moſt, was ever ſure to be rewarded beſt: which begot in perſons of deſert and quality ſuch diſcontent, to ſee others of baſe condition advanc'd, themſelves contemn'd: as this their inconſiderate bounty became the onely pulley to hale them to calamity.

Nor could this abſolute Prince (for hee was Soveraigne over himſelfe) indure to force an obedience in his Subjects, by a tyrannick feare: for though *Nero's* Poſition was this: *Fortuna*

Yet had this Preſident of Princes, factious & ſtirring Spirits both in Campe and Court.

Plutarch.

noſtra cuncta permittit mihi : Hee held that Maxim farre more princely : *Quo quiſque potentior, patientius mala ferat.* Either to plant in blood, or beget a more awfull command and Soveraignty by practiſing in himſelfe or Officers, effuſion of blood, he found that courſe no means to ſecure him, nor to ſettle him in an Imperiall State. Hee had received from that Learned Morall, how, in the minde or conſcience of a Murtherer, there ſhall alwayes remaine a plague of Blood; his Eyes ſhall behold no other colour but *ſanguine*, as if the Aire were dyed into it; the Viſions of his Head in the Night-time ſhall *caſt a Bowle of blood in his face.*

Howſoever, moſt certaine it is, that divers factious Incendiaries have ſhowne themſelves in moſt Pavillions; where, by private ſuggeſtions they ever ſought to ſow differences amongſt Eminent'ſt perſons: purpoſely by a paraſiticall way, to creepe into favour with one or other. Which ever redounded to the Authors diſhonour; as might be inſtanc'd in ſundry Examples both Ancient and Moderne. For whence came thoſe fatall-fraternall diſcords betwixt *Polynices* and *Eteocles*? Thoſe continued Warres betwixt the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; *Sabines* and *Samnites*; but from theſe *Spirits* in the *Vault*, who were impatient of nothing more than peace: nor Fautors of ought more than Diviſion? In troubled waters is their beſt fiſhing: *Halcyon dayes* are

their

their *Canicular-dayes.* A calamitous *Canna*, or fatall *Pharſalie*, Camps where they hang their Trophies of glory. In which, they hold it impoſſible but to finde ſome, on whom they may practiſe.

Hecuba's Dreame of bringing forth a *Burning Torch*, may be in theſe verified: Their ſtirrings would bring all to cinders, were they not ſeaſonably quenched. Publick ſafety, private Amity, all correſpondence meeting mutually, would by theſe bee ſoone diſſolved, were they left alone to act their owne parts: which would in ſhort time burſt out into ſuch combuſtion, as the Stage where they acted, ſhould preſent nothing but Enmity and Diviſion.

Some of this Stampe, our late Gracious Soveraigne of famous Memory, King JAMES, tooke eſpeciall notice of: who, howſoever they were for other humane Learning deſervingly approved, yet for their indiſcreet paſſages in this kind, (as may appeare more fully in their Hiſtoricall Relations) they utterly loſt his eſteeme.

Theſe are poyſonous and virulent heads, that ſuggeſt into the eares of Princes, Arguments of revenge, cauſes of diſtruſt, motives of ſuſpicion and jealouſie: not to profit themſelves, but to ſatisfie the depravedneſſe of their owne natures, intended to nothing but the ſubverſion of States, the ſetting at diſcord united Princes: *En pallor! &c.* ——It was thought, that in

En pallor gentis, generis, genique potentis
Has iras ſtimulando graves, inflare ſuperbos!

A memorable Christian, and royall expedition.

in that glorious and Christian-like expedition of those memorable *Heroës*, Princes recorded in the eternall booke of fame, against the *Turkes*, whose hostility had laine waste those blessed and fruitfull coasts, where the remnant of *Israel* was once planted: that the greatest cause of the ill successe of that Warre proceeded from some factious heads, setting (that unfortunate, yet never sufficiently praised *Heroe*) the Duke of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*, at variance: an impious and disasterous enmity, being a maine impediment for the hindering a warre, no lesse glorious to Heaven, than generally beneficiall to all the world. Some have imputed the cause to certaine expostulations betwixt the two Princes, which grew afterwards to words of publick reproach and infamy; upbraiding each other with divers insolencies offered by their Countries, one to another. What ere the Motive of this dissention was, (how varied soever the opinions of Writers be herein) the braine that contrived it, was sure the forge of great impiety, and an irreparable detriment to the Christians, exposing them to ruine, slaughter, and desolation.

A mischievous plot.

Factious Historians amongst the Ancient.

The like we may read of those two renowned Cities, *Sparta* and *Athens*: which two flourishing Common-weales long time lived in unity, without the least motion of warre: but in *fine*, reading the workes of a mutinous Historian: mutinous indeed; for his factions before, had beene sufficient, without further inducements by writing: such bloody and cruell warres ensued,

as

as the fire of those intestine combustions was not extinguished with lesse than an universall effusion of blood. Many more I could produce, even neare at home, but I must not insist upon one Argument too long, since I have entred a spacious and intricate Maze, that promiseth entrance enough, if I can (with *Ariadnes* threed) finde a passage to my precipitate adventure.

THus much have I spoken of State-snarling Historians, that make their Workes like pricks or goads to the publick State. I will now proceed with my former division of History, and finde in these two extreames (*Assentation*, and *State-invection*) a meane to direct us in the perfect and exact use of Historicall Narrations: *Mediocritatissimum ibis*; neither too depressed, as if thy labours exprest their Masters poverty: nor too erected, to intimate thy states security. Thou art too depressed, when with lagging wings thou stoopest to every base lure, or object of affection, making thy Invention a stale to others pleasure, writing nothing lesse than truth, because truth cannot teach thee how to live. Thou art too erected, when like an eminent Censor, thou taxest the acts of Princes, with such an austere brow, as if thou hadst forgot the discipline of History, and wert transformed to a profest Satyrist; mixing thy Inke with farre more gall than discretion; yet transported with imaginary motives of selfe-conceit, cares not who be galled,

An excellent meane for an Historian to observe.

so

ſo thou (with *Cteſiphon*) kicke againſt the Moiles heeles. For the latter, there's no profeſſion more eaſie, nor ſubject more frequent, nor Argument more generall: and as *Iuvenal* ſaith:

Lib. 1. Satyr. 1

Difficile eſt Satyram non ſcribere: nam quis iniqua
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus ut teneat ſe?

A flattering Hiſtorian,

For the firſt, I never knew any Diſcourſe worth reading, proceed from ſo baſe and ignoble Merchants: They ſell their Workes by retaile; and hope of a gainefull Dedicatory, makes them contemne Method, Truth, Subject, and all. *Irus* ſkrippe is open; relieve but the needy Artiſt, he will imitate the *Bohemian* Curre, fawne on a *good ſuite*: ſhew the project of his intendments to him; deague but thy protection, and he will ſecond it with an indeared proteſtation, to inſert Monumentall Characters of Honour to grace thee; onely beſtow thy bounty, and ſhew not thy ſelfe unworthy of ſo fabulous an Attendant. His Invention is tyed to his Benefactors: then dryes the ſource of his fancy, when they reſtraine the Spring of their Bounty.

☞ It is the miſery indeed, of the Age, not alwaies to fixe upon Merit: ſeeing many rare and exquiſite Witts, and thoſe ſingularly improved by continuate ſtudy, and conference, ſleepe many times in ſilence, unregarded, at leaſt unrewarded: while more ſterile Conceipts receive advancement. Yet ſhould not theſe reſpects make a Scholler forgetfull of ſo generous a Title, as the

the beſt-diſcerning Heralds of Antiquity have beſtowed on him. For if wee will credit Authority, or the teſtimony of ſuch, whoſe precious-ſpent Oyle hath deſervingly purchas'd them a memorable eſteeme, we ſhall finde the *Style* of a *Scholler* deepely ſtamped with the Print of honour. Whence it is, that *Citræus* writeth, that in *Prage*, an Univerſity of *Bohemia*, where *Iohn Hus* and *Hierom* of *Prage* profeſſed, that they that have continned Profeſſors for the ſpace of Twenty yeeres together, by a conſtant reſidence, are created Earles and Dukes both together. And therefore to dignifie their perſons the more, their *Style* is to be called *Illuſtres*; whereas they which are ſingly and ſimply but onely either Earles or Dukes, are called *Spectabiles*. Neither maketh it any matter, that they have no revenues to maintaine Earledomes or Dukedomes: for they have the Title notwithſtanding, even as Suffragans have of Biſhops.

In Itinerario pag. 444.

Reflect on theſe, yee *free-bred Children* of the *Muſes*, and you will ſcorne to expoſe your deſerving Labours to the Mercenary Trade of our impertinent Pamphletters: who *write* before they *read*; and diſcover their follies to the world, not to gaine *praiſe* but *price*.

Learning of too precious a memory, to become mercenary.

Obſerve but what ſurviving Fame the laborious Workes of knowing Authors have formerly acquired: *Quorum effigies ſi verè ſcire cupias, non ſaxa ſed ſcripta legas.* Admit, they received not that acceptance, while they lived, which their

Let Schollers leave this deſerving Motto of *Solons* to their Country; and if ſhe reward them not, let it redound to her ignominy: "*O Patria tibi dictis & factis opitulatus ſum!*

elaborate compoſures deſerved: yet though a *Mecænas* ſleepe, the whole Judgment of an Age cannot. There will be ever ſome, who can both *read* and *iudge*. So precious are theſe Monuments of Learning, and have beene ever, that ſhould *Fortune* play ſtill her blind part, and reſerve the ſmalleſt portion for *Minerva's* Followers: They ſhall live more honour'd in the eye of judgment, becauſe had in diſgrace by a painted parcell of foot-cloath State, which never yet aſpired to a diſcerning knowledge of Merit.

Didiciſtis Philoſophiam, & Philoſophiæ florem, nempe Poëſem; & nondum ſpreviſtis Sirenem Mundi, nempe Fortunam?

For tell me, yee happy deſpicable ones, are you any thing the worſe, becauſe deſpiſed, where onely Faſhion, Complement, or affected ignorance is in requeſt? No; as it is the good mans glory to be diſvalued by the evill: ſo it is your happineſſe to receive a diſeſteeme from theſe, who pride themſelves in nothing but ſilken ignorance.

Niobe, in the affluence of her Fortune, could ſay: "*Greater am I than Fortune can ſubdue.* Much more you, who are enriched with farre more precious ſubſtance: you have in you what may truely fortifie you: No matter, though your outward houſe decline, ſo your inward houſe reteine her beauty. Let your Workes then confirme your worth: Let them not palliat an untruth: nor for any hope of an immerited reward, inſinuate your ſelves into the favour of vicious Greatneſſe. Make choice of ſuch a *Patron*, whom you may juſtly commend: let his *Vertues* rather than his *Fortunes* binde you to him.

Many

Many have periſhed in opinion of the world; by addreſſing their Labours to undeſerving Perſonages: or by writing in way of Commendation, upon unworthy Subjects. Good Wits ſhould be better imployed: and if weake, the Better have writ enough for them to admire.

Direction in the Election of Subjects.

Theſe two ſorts (as not worthy an Hiſtoricall Title) have I proſcribed the bounds of my diſcourſe: if betwixt ſuch two dangerous ſhelves, I can finde a retired harbour for the truely named *Hiſtorian* to breath himſelfe in, I have attained my wiſhed expectance. The meane betwixt theſe two, gives us obſervation of noting cauſes and effects, how produced, and how ended: Counſells and ſucceſſes, how intended, how adminiſtred. Then hee proceeds further, making reſemblance betwixt Nature and Nature, State and State, the government of this Province and of that: then differences of Actions and Events: ſome wiſely carried, bearing themſelves faire, and promiſing a compleat ſatisfaction to the undertaker: yet what oppoſition betwixt the end and beginning, ruine being the period, or extreme of his hopes? Many ſuch oppoſite *Converſions*, or *Cataſtrophes* rather, may we dayly ſee in the managements of Warres. Who more happy in his Countries protection, and who more ſucceſſive in his proſecution, than *Pompey* the great in his firſt entrance to Martiall exploits? Yea, (as *Cæſar* acknowledged himſelfe) he had conquered, if he had knowne when he had conquered: yet in event, whoſe deſignes more unhappy? Not

Viciſſes, & te viciſſe cognoviſſes.

onely deprived of the bent of his hopes, proſcribed (as it were) his native Countrey, and enforced to begge a poore Sepulchre in a forraine Countrey: but even moſt oppreſſed by their cruelty, whoſe ſervice under his owne Banner, had beene rewarded royally. Such diſcourſes often move in men a commiſeration, in ſeeing Vertue ſo ill guerdoned, and Vice (under a counterfeit garbe) of Innocence, receive an immerited reward. And this certainly have moſt Hiſtorians ever obſerved in their Writings: ſo lively to expreſſe the diſaſters of deſerving men, that their Relations might move a kinde of ſenſible pitty and remorſe in the peruſer, which is beſt exemplified by circumſtances: for the time, place, cauſe, and perſon, with other neceſſary Adjuncts, doe (for the moſt part) lay a more open and ſmooth Tract to the inforcement of paſſion. *Lucan*, that Heroick Hiſtorian, brings forth *Cornelia* ſitting upon the ſhore, where her Huſband tooke his laſt farewell of her: where (like another *Niobe*) ſhe makes a Limbeck of her eyes, and deſcants her owne calamity, oft wiſhing his returne; and when deprived of his ſight, yet the eye of her imagination repreſents a new object of ſorrow. Here, in ſuch royall compoſitions, and funerall concluſions, he deſcribes the diverſity of Nature, in two contrary ſubjects: a ſervant faithfull, ſitting o're the headleſſe trunke of his unhappy Maſter: a ſlave as ungratefull, haling his once well-eſteemed Lord and Generall to the fatall ſhoare: where (without taſte of remorſe,

Moving Hiſtorians.

How to move paſſion and by what circumſtances.

remorſe, remembrance of former merits, or regard of Countries love) hee deprives him of life.

When *Marc. Antonie* was to preſent the cruelty committed upon *Caſar* in that fatall ſurprize he received in the Capitol: that he might move more compaſſion in his Hearers; who, as they were for moſt part *Plebeians*, ſo ocular Preſentments uſually worke deepeſt impreſſion with them: ſhewed in his Funerall Oration the thirty three wounds wherewith *Caſar* was deprived of life by his Conſpirators. Which baring of his body, and diſcovery of his wounds, with an aggravation of the odiouſneſſe of the fact, being acted by his owne pretended friends, begot in them an univerſall ſorrow. Nothing but revenge could reliſh well with them, after this ſo dolefull a Spectacle.

An excellent Art in moving paſſion, inſtanced in *Appian. Alexandrinus.*

This that excellent Hiſtorian, (*Appian. Alexand.*) expreſſeth in ſuch a paſſionate manner, as his Lines can hardly produce any leſſe effect from an attentive Reader. For you ſhall ever obſerve, that the Imagination workes more to life than the Line: So as, when ſuch a Diſcourſe is laid open to us, we begin to recollect the Circumſtances: as the place where ſuch a Tragicke Sceane was acted; the perſons intereſſed; the quality of the perſon ſuffering: all which are ſo enlivened by the imagination, as it makes the *Reader* a *Spectator* ſo ſtrong and ſinewy is the conceipt of him who underſtands what he reads.

Choranius, who had beene *Prator*, being

condemned and now attached by the Souldiers, during those Factions of the *Trium-viri*, intreated them to forbeare from offering violence, till he might send his sonne to speake with *Antonie*; imagining, good Old man, that his sonne out of a naturall affection and reverence to his gray haires, would interceed for him; but they laughed at his suite, answering him, that his sonne had spoken, but it was to the contrary: When the old man heard this, he desired them to tarry till hee had seene his Daughter; whom when he saw, he commanded "*shee should abstaine from his goods*, "*lest her Brother should sue for her Death unto* An- "tonie. But observe the fatall issue of Disobedience! This unnaturall Sonne, having consumed prodigally all his goods, the unhappy remainder of his Fathers fortunes, became afterwards attached of Felony, and saved himselfe by flight: where living in a tedious Exile, hee closed his dayes as miserably, as his former course was unnaturall.

A memorable story of an unnaturall Son, and his miserable end.

A plenteous Store-house of Examples for all conditions is *History* in it selfe. Which conduce much to the regulating of our life; and preparing our selves for death. For if wee shall but consider the resolution of such, who for popular honour, Countries esteeme, or safety of State, have with all readinesse encountred Death: yea, who rather than they would endure to see any Tyrannick Soveraignty introduced; or the ancient Lawes and Customes of their Nation disannulled, would suffer the worst of all extreames: much

much more we, who fight for a better Countrey: and whoſe hopes extend the period of time, in the purſuite of our Victory.

There is an Epigramme of *Callimachus* upon *Cleombrotus* the *Ambracian*, whom he ſayes (to expreſſe the force of humane reading) after that he had peruſed *Plato's* booke of the *Immortality of the Soule*, forthwith, without any other apparant cauſe, caſt himſelfe headlong downe from a Wall. *Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. 1.*

What effects Hiſtoricall Readings have begot, all Times can beare ſufficient Record: where ſome, whoſe remiſſe ſpirits durſt never enter liſts with any common danger, by being frequently vers'd in Relations of this kinde, became valiant Commanders. Others, in the Survey of Acts done in defence of Ladies honours, as if thoſe Hiſtoricall Narrations ſolely aymed at them, betooke them to the ſame Enterprize. No Taſke too difficult, no deſigne ſo impaled with danger, which with a cheerefull ſmile they would not encounter; ſo they might vindicate any wronged Ladies honour. Others, hearing thoſe ancient diſtractions betwixt their owne native Soile, with ſome other Nation: and the injuries their Countrey ſuffered; have revived thoſe wounds already cicatris'd, and vowed a revenge for indignities nearely worne out by time. Such lively Preſentments are Hiſtories, as they have power to beget ſpirit in the puſillanimous, conſtancy in the couragious, modeſty in the magnanimous, with a ſweete attemperature of all vertues

vertues (whereof Clemency is the prime flower) in the Victorious.

Such as defiled their native purity with impiety, by giving themselves over unto pleasure; and had stayned the Nobility and splendour of their Soules through wallowing in Vice, or otherwise fraudulently by usurpation or base insinuation, had crept into Soveraignty, or unjustly governing the Common-wealth; such thought *Socrates*, that they went a by-path separated from the councell of the Gods: But such as, while they lived in their bodies, imitated the life of the Gods, such he thought had an easie returne to the place from whence they first came.

Tusc. Quest. Lib. 1.

Of which Subject *Egesias* the *Cyrenian* resolved so amply, and discourst so powerfully, that he was forbidden of King *Ptolomeus* to teach the same in Schooles, for that many after his Doctrine willingly killed themselves.

These Disputations in those times free from the shock of warre, and inconveniences ever attending Hostility, were usually professed and practised. But when the *Gowne* and *Lawrel* gave way to the *Launce*, such arguments ceased: Philosophy became out of request: Martiall Discipline the sole determiner of causes. Fields became Theaters, where such Sceanes of sorrow were Acted; as the Conquerour could not say that those booties were cleare gaynes which hee had purchased. This moved that princely compassionate *Caesar*, sometimes to compare his own Imperiall gaine with a *Democraticall* losse. To com-

comfort that diſconſolate *Cornelia*, whoſe eies were ever flowing in the remembrance of her injuried Lord. To recall to minde thoſe many eminent Statiſts, whoſe glory it was to imbrace Death willingly, rather than become Subjects of his Victory. To recount (if Figures could finde place for ſuch a number) thoſe many beds made Widows; thoſe many Infant-orphans by his *Pharſalia*. Hee findes the Senate diſſolved; all thoſe Orders and Officialls conducing to a Politicall State (while popular command bore ſway) rooted. The tongue of Eloquence he findes charmed: and to his innovated State ſolely chained. He findes *Ianus* Temple open, and hee is conſcious to himſelfe, why it was opened: and now he ſhuts it, but not without a ſigh, for he knows not how ſoone it may be opened. Hee viewes with a ſerious Ceremony the Statues of his once living, but now interred friends: and in a more paſſionate recollection of his owne affaires, hee conſiders, how his ambition brought many of them to ruine. Hee lookes when thoſe liveleſſe Shrines of his loving Allies ſhould tender him a re-greet, at leaſt an inforced ſmile, as a congratulating teſtimony of his Victory. But he findes them Emblemes of himſelfe; meere ſhadows of empty greatneſſe; a place they hold, and that is all.

An excellent Diſcourſe of Imperiall frailty.

Having now taken a full view of his Princely Prætorian, his fatall Capitoll, and all thoſe memorable Beauties which either Art or State could bring to their full height; hee

No Empire can confine the heart of her Emperor.

takes measure of himselfe: and hee findes his heart as unconfined as it was before. Triangular it is, which, should it possesse the world, can no more by the Circumference of the world be confined, than a Triangle by a Circle is to be filled. He eyes his owne Compesition; and hee neither findes his body more strengthened, nor the line of his life probably lengthned; nor the stayes of his Empire better setled. And now he feeles in his owne breast, what hee never felt before; numerous cares, nocturnall feares: So as, should he be so secured from all outward foes, as nothing could occasionally trouble him without, he findes such a Battalion within, as he ingenuously acknowledgeth Liberty to be farre more precious than Soveraignty; all which hee findes the experimentall fruits of his Victory. And now he would converse a little with Morrality, which that it may take more impressive Prints upon the face of Majesty, hee goes to the Monument of his vanquish'd Foe; One somerimes equall to himselfe for greatnesse; and transcendent (if the generall Vote and Voice of *Rome* deserve credit) to him in goodnesse. And what findes he ingraven on that mouldred shrine, but the *Effigies* of an headlesse Trunke, distinguished by this impresse: "*Hic situs est Magnus*"! Every where hee findes Fortune his professed foe: and the want of knowledge how to manage a Victory, the occasion of his owne fall.

Hee sees the dislaughter'd Corps both of his Friends and Foes equally bleeding: for his Triumph,

umph, he conceives it ſhort in meaſure of thoſe numerous wounds by him occaſioned; thoſe profuſe Rivolets of blood his hand h'as effuſed; thoſe Oceans of diſtreaming teares his Conqueſts have procured.

Such Tragick occurrents require their *Emphaſis*, and a kind of un-uſuall working paſſion: that the Hiſtory may preſent to our eyes, the very acts how they were done; making her Diſcourſe (as it is) a Theater of humane Actions. I know pittifull ſtories have ſtrange effects, if amply deſcribed: For Warriers themſelves in the report of their owne misfortunes (of all men moſt pittileſſe) have hardly contained themſelves from teares. *Æneas* wept to ſee the ruines of his Countrey ſo livelily depictured in *Dido's* Hall: But when he beheld his poore Father *Anchiſes* hanging on his owne ſhoulders, (having no other refuge in ſo imminent diſaſters) *Suſpiria mittit*, he could weepe no longer: for teares mitigate griefe; but with a paſſionate ſilencing of his miſeries, treaſured his un-utterable woes in the balefull Centre of his heart.

Lively impreſſions of remorſe, drawne frō the Sonne towards the Father.

Xerxes, when of a populous Army, as ever paſſed out of *Aſia*, hee had but ſo many left as might attend him in a poore Cock-boat, to accompany him in his diſtreſſed expedition, the Hiſtory mentions, that hee wept bitterly; enſtiling himſelfe, *The ruine of his Countrey, the ſlaughter of many reſolute Souldiers.* Nay, *Titus* himſelfe, the Flower of all the *Roman* Emperours, in the ſacke and ſubverſion of that once glorious

City *Ieruſalem*, is ſaid to weepe exceedingly, beholding ſo many lamentable Obiects of pitty (dead carkaſſes lying in open ditches) ſo as not able to containe himſelfe, he cryed out, *I call Heaven to witneſſe, I am not the cauſe of this peoples ſlaughter.* Many ſuch repreſentments wee have very uſuall in Hiſtories, motive for their paſſion, and memorable for their end; proceeding from the juſt Judgment of God, to caution others by their miſerable falls.

Comparing of Hiſtories very neceſſary.

There is another propriety in a Hiſtory, which ſhould be obſerved: and that is a Judicious collation, or comparing of Hiſtories one with another. The defect and want hereof, is the principall cauſe why ſo maine diſcordancies & meere oppoſitions in Hiſtories ariſe: and that not in circumſtances alone, but in materiall points, as originall foundations of Cities, ſucceſſion of Princes miſcited, the ſites of Countries (an obſervance more Geographicall) ill-diſpoſed; with many other errors, which are grounded upon no other reaſon, than the want of conferring ſuch Hiſtories together, as tend to the preſent Subject wee have in hand. Nay, were it not much thinke you, now to prove directly, that the very Computation of yeeres which they derived from their ancient Kalendar; and which they obſerved as Ceremonially and Religiouſly (in their kind) as wee the yeeres from CHRISTS Incarnation, was very defective among themſelves?

A difference among the Pagans in their Computation of yeeres.

☞ Yea, to ſhew you, how Chronologers differ concerning thoſe yeeres from the Worlds Crea-

tion,

tion, to *Chriſts* Birth: ſome affirming, there be 3929, as *Beroaldus*: ſome 3952, as *Hierome* and *Bede*: ſome 3960, as *Luther* and *Iohannes Lucidus*: ſome 3963, as *Melanæthon* in his Chronicle, and *Functius*: ſome 3970, as *Bullinger* and *Tremellius*: ſome towards 4000, as *Buntingus*.

Sundry probable opinions every one of theſe alledged; yet in Computation conſtantly different. No doubt, but Tranſcriptions theſe men had to confirme their Opinions: how then came theſe to be ſo defective, or different one from another? Divers have no leſſe diverſly laboured to reſolve this Objection; then they have with impertinency of Reaſons intangled the underſtanding with new doubts. Much was propoſed by them Argumentatively, nothing Poſitively concluded; being by Opponents no leſſe probable in their Arguments, than confident of their Judgments, oppoſed. Howbeit, touching this our Computation, wee reſt ſufficiently grounded. This onely is the occaſion of our inference in this particular: purpoſely to deliver unto you the diverſity, and conſequently the maine deficiency of ſuch Tranſcripts, as former times have recommended to Poſterity.

Neither need wee wonder that in our owne Kingdome, thoſe who have for many yeeres preceeded us, ſhould afford no great light or direction to their Succeſſours; ſeeing, Saint *Hierome* in the end of his Dialogue againſt the *Pelagians*, (a booke of excellent Learning and divine Diſcourſe) writeth thus: "The Province of

Hieron. in Dialog. cont. Pelag.

"*Brittaine*, which hath beene oftentimes gover-
"ned (note the deplorable eſtate of this Iland
"in thoſe daies) by Tyrants and other Hoſtile
"people; Nations bounding or bordering upon
"the Ocean Sea, were utterly ignorant of *Moſes*
"and the Prophets: So that then, by the teſtimo-
ny of Saint *Hierome*, all our Religion was Hea-
theniſh ſuperſtition: all our Church-ſervice was
Idolatry: all our Prieſts were *Paniins*: all our
Gods were Idols. And to appropriate to every
Nation their peculiar God, there was then in
Scotland, the Temple of *Mars*: in *Cornwall*, the
Temple of *Mercury*: in *Bangor* in *Wales*, the
Temple of *Minerva*: in [a] *Malden* in *Eſſex*, the
Temple of [b] *Victoria*: in *Bath*, the Temple of *A-
pollo*: in *Leiceſter*, the Temple of *Ianus*: in *York*,
where *St. Peters* is now, the Temple of [c] *Bello-
na*: in *London*, where *Pauls* is now, (and now
to more than her priſtine beauty reſtored) the
Temple of [d] *Diana*: Therefore it is very likely, by
comparing thoſe Times with preceeding Anti-
quity, that they eſteemed as highly then of the
Goddeſſe *Diana* in *London*, as they did in *Epheſus*:
and that as they cryed there, *Great is* Diana *of the*
Epheſians; ſo they cryed here, being deluded
with the ſame ſpirit, and tranſported with the
ſame purſuit of profit, *Great is* Diana *of the* Lon-
doners. Nay, even no more than 53. yeeres be-
fore the Incarnation of *Chriſt*, when *Iulius Ca-
ſar* came out of *France* into *England*, ſo abſurd,
ſenſeleſſe, and ſtupid were the people of this
Land, that inſtead of the true and ever-living
Lord,

a *Stow in Annal. in vit. Morgani.*
b *Cambdeni Britan. in Eſſexia.*
c *Stow Annal. in vita Bladud & Leire Regum, & Severi Imperatoris.*
d *Iuellius in Tractat. de ſacris Scripturis pag. 129. Act. 19. 28.*

Lord, they ſerved thoſe Heathenish and abhominable Idols, *Mars*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, *Victoria*, *Apollo*, *Ianus*, *Bellona*, *Diana*, and ſuch like. No great marvell then, that people ſo wholly illiterate and ignorant in the Law of *Moſes*, ſhould be unknowne to the Computation of yeeres deſcending from *Moſes*. But for the Pagans themſelves to be ignorant in their Annuall Accompts with ſuch ſuperſtitious ſolemnity obſerved; with ſuch conſtant Feaſts ſolemnized: and every yeere, in their perſonall viſits (eſpecially for their *Olympick* and *Iſthmian* Games) memorized: it may ſeeme ſtrange to affirme, but a taſke of more difficulty to confirme.

And yet this is eaſily done; for their opinions about their *Olympiads* in *Greece*, for the time of their Erection are divers: The foundation of *Rome* as uncertaine, ſince the Founder himſelfe is not as yet generally agreed of; for the divers Relations of *Numitor* and *Amulius*, *Romulus* and *Remus*, with their Mother *Rhea*, or *Ilia*, (as ſome will have it) make up a Labyrinth of themſelves without further confuſion. But to inferre the ſtrange conveyance (or *Apotheoſis*) of *Romulus*, ſuddenly vaniſhed forth of their ſight, and by the teſtimony of *Iulius Proculus*, tranſplanted to ſome other place of more eminence; hardly deſerves the credit of an Hiſtorian: Yet ſome there be which ſhew more favour to this famous Founder of *Rome*, daigning to beſtow a Monument of him, which is erected for him in the Temple *Quirinus*. Indeed it were little enough

Vid. Aul. Gel. & Laërt.

to

to memorize ſo renowned an Eſtabliſher with a Tombe, and to conſecrate the place of his Burial; as *Achylles* Tombe, or Monument in *Sygeum*, *Theſeus* in *Athens*, *Ajax* in the *Rhetian* ſhore, and *Alcides* Reliques in *Oëta*: Read but over the *Roman* Annals, and you ſhall finde the diſcordancies of Hiſtorians in theſe Computations of times to be great: As eſpecially the deſtruction of *Troy*, confounding the ſeverall times of *Troyes* ſacking, miſſing their Accompt from *Laomedon* to the ſucceſſion of *Priam*. But I have touched the errour enough, let us now deſcend to the prevention of it.

Tranſcriptions oft-times uncertaine & defective.

Before we take in hand any Diſcourſe, wee muſt alwayes meditate of the meanes, ere we can attaine the end: Which end is ſooneſt atchieved, when we addreſſe our ſelves for ſuch Subjects (as have beene in our time) wherein we may receive Inſtruction, by ſome that have beene inter-reſted in thoſe Affaires, of farre more certainty than any Tranſcription. But intending our Studies to any Forraine Relation (whereof it may be wee have ſome one Record) I would not depend upon the Antiquity of the Record (for wee have many ancient Fables) but recollect my ſelfe and examine the probability, whether ſuch particulars are like to beare reſemblance of truth or no. And herein wee imitate the Ancienteſt and beſt Authorized Hiſtorians that ever wrote.

Valerius Maximus had recourſe, not onely to *Roman* Annals, (which were kept with great care) but hee uſed to conferre with ſuch as had any

any Breviats of the *Romane* Lives in their hands: Comparing them together, that hee might cull and chuſe out from the beſt Authors (as himſelfe witneſſeth) ſuch documents, as not onely propagated the glory and priſtine height of his Countrey, but might move ſucceeding ages to emulate their Vertues.

The like of that true Moral Hiſtorian *Plutarch*, whoſe Style ſo modeſtly garniſhed, and ſo ſententiouſly concluding, hath (and not without cauſe) purchaſed him the name of the Father of *Hiſtories*.

Laërtius, a worthy recorder of thoſe famous Sages of *Greece*; deſcribes his Countries happineſſe with great modeſty: Whoſe Sentences may beſeeme the graveſt Underſtanding to extract, and upon occaſion to accommodate to his owne purpoſe. Here he ſhewes Spirit in a Phyloſophers Pen, one oppoſing himſelfe agaynſt a Tyrant; There a Moraliſt, making young men fit Sociates for the matureſt times: Here a Cynicke, contemning the glory of the World, though offered him; There a merry *Greeke*, laughing at the Vanities of men wholly beſotted and ſubjected to mundane ſlavery. O what Chriſtian-like Maxims, what Divine concluſions, what ſolid Arguments, what enforcing reaſons be there included, onely to move men to the embrace of vertue? With Diſcourſe plentifull enough in oppoſitions betwixt *Ethnicke* and *Ethnicke*; outſtripping Nature (if it were poſſible) in reaſoning, and drawing an argument, neere to Divine

The variety of diſcourſe in *Laërtius*.

probation, and ready to confirme it, if the generall blindnes of the Time, and their want of further Revelation would admit of their assertion.

Thus much for the former branch of my Division, of *Histories* True and Authenticke: Now I will entreate of Relations Feigned; yet such as Moralized include an excellent meaning, drained from the uncorrupted Springs of *Helicon*.

Feigned Relations or Poëticall Historie.

ALL Relations feigned are not to be excluded: for many Poëticall Narrations there be which comprehend in them a wonderfull sharpnesse of judgement, pregnancy of Invention, and a great measure of Discretion; of which sort, none more excellent then the Workes of *Homer*, weaving many pretty conceites in the web of his History, to make the Subject it selfe more pleasant. The more I commend him to the reading of the judiciously Generous, because I could never find in his Works any scurrulous Affectation, but prosecuting his Discourse with a modest gravity, as if Nature, that had deprived him of his corporall sight, had done it, to make the eie of his understanding more piercing. For who so reads the Majesty of his Stile, the wel-coucht Fables inmixt in his War betwixt the *Greeks* & *Trojans*, may as in a Store-house, imagine the Treasures of all Wits to be locked up in him. Many excellent Histories have beene derived from him, as well in Prose as contracted Measures; for his pleasing variety relisheth more then others, because through all his Workes, hee useth lesse digression then

Homer an Excellent & Heroicke Poet; shadow'd onely at, because my Iudicious Friend Master *Tho. Heywood*, hath taken in hand (by his great industry) to make a Generall (though Summary) description of all the Poets lives; and with farre more felicity, I hope, than his mysterious discourse of *Angels*.

then others: and pitty it is, that every impoliſh'd hand ſhould have to doe with the Tranſcription of his Labours: grieving the poore Blind-man with their blindneſſe: For who ſo blind as Bajard? And if *Steſychorus* was worthily ſtrucke blind for Commenting on *Venus* beauty, and diſcommending *Hellens* forme: Much more deſerve they an exacter puniſhment, that dare with an unprepared ſleightneſſe, Comment on his eterniz'd Labours, who detected *Venus* luſt, and portraied *Hellens* Inconſtancy.

Labours diſparraged by Tranſlators.

To preſcribe in what Tongue *Hiſtories* are to be read, I know their owne garment is moſt native. But ſuch have bin the diſparraging Labours of our *Engliſh* Tranſlators, that *Romes* Tongue, and *Greeces* Characters, grow as vulgar and common with us, as the *Italian* Garbe: ſo as wee ſeeme beholding to others, both for Speech and Raiment. I doe know ſome Workes are neceſſary to be Tranſlated, being ſuch as expreſſe the politicke ſtates of Realmes; which imparted to the illiterate, oftentimes conferre no little benefit to our Countrey. But other Works there be, which Modeſty would have concealed, being Records of the Vitiouſneſſe of former times; as the Obſcene and ſenſuall convents, or proſtitutions rather, of thoſe mirrors of Impiety, the *Roman* Emperours; the Relation whereof acquaints the depraved too well with ſuch Impudence.

Many illiterat of the exacteſt Iudgment.

To admit of ſuch Workes, or to give Patronage to ſuch, nor my fruitleſſe but diſhoneſt Labours, hath beene in all times a great occaſion of

The free passage of *wanton workes*, the maine source of corrupting Youth.

corrupting youth, nourishing Vice, and introducing a sensuall liberty amongst such, who in regard of their eminence of place, should have bin Patrons and patternes of piety. For if anciently all occasions of looseneſſe were so much prevented, as even outward Habits or other externall gestures made them censured: How much more should *Authors*, whose eyle should be so imployed, as a benefit to some, a prejudice to none ought to be occasioned; labour to compose such *Works*, or faithfully Translate such *Labours*, as may conferre a succeeding profit to the State, to which they stand more particularly interessed. Lascivious lines produce vicious lives: seeing men for most part, are more Apishly addicted to the imitation of any vice, then seriously affected to the attention of Vertue. Scandall is a dangerous shelfe: neyther is there any Tetter more noxiously spreading o're the face, then foments and occasionall motives of inordinate lightneſſe is to our life.

Vnleſſe occasions be prevented, the most integrious may be impeached.

Lucides, that *Argive* King, was accounted lascivious only for his sleek lookes, and mincing gate. So *Pompey*, a profest Champion of valour and honour, because he used to scratch his head with one finger, albeit very continent and modest. So *Crassus*, onely because hee would have bought a Farme of a *Vestall Virgin*, for which intent only, he used to converse with her, was suspected to have abused her. *Posthumia*, because out of a naturall inclination, given to laughter, and something forward to talke with men, was suspected

pected of her honesty; whereof being openly accused, she was acquitted by *Spurius Minutius* with this Caveat, *to use words suteable to her life.*

Now, if Habit, Gesture, or Discourse begot such a suspition amongst *Pagans*; what should publicke Workes, whereto Authority gives improvement, do amongst *Christians?* In our readings, as wee should be *Bees* and no *Spiders*: brouzing and sucking the fragrant'st and wholesom'st hearbs, and no lesse seasonably converting them to the best substance: So should those, who intend to publish ought; no lesse sincerely then seriously ponder thus with themselves, before they impart themselves to the World: "whereto "tends this passage? will not the ambiguity of it "probably beget a mis-construction, and con-"sequently some occasion of corruption? Have "our lines their full weight? do they beare that "proportion, which may sort with the quality of "that Subject wherof they treate? do they neither "fall short of the Time, by contracting or injuriously concealing, what should be discovered: "Or above the time, by dilating too amply, and "annexing a Comment, where the *Text* it selfe "would have served? Is there nought that may "offend a modest eare, or deprave an unsetled "thought? May the State receive it, and be not "prejudic'd by it: Or the most censorious *Cri-"sticke* peruse it, and without just ground dis-"relliſh it?

Princely *Augustus*, who ever retayned in him a Morall piety, aswell as an Imperiall Majesty;

for leſſer had the latter beſeem'd him, had not the former accompanied him; would not permit his *Livia* to read light works: no queſtion, light labours make many of our *Livia's* light. For as the Lover is ever blinded with affection towards his beloved: ſo it fareth with theſe, who affected to light paſſages, in the end ſo fixe their deluded conceites upon them, as they admire nothing with more conſtancy, then ſuch Subjects as wrought thoſe love-ſicke paſſions on their beſotted fancy.

Plato.

But to recede to our Diſcourſe of *Hiſtories* of this nature; I find many unprofitable paſſages in the Tranſlation of our *Hiſtories*; which the diſcretion of a temperate and well-compoſed *Interpreter* might have well omitted: neither ſhould he in this have prejudic'd his Author, but acquir'd more honour to himſelfe by his Labour. I could inſtance many paſſages in ſundry *Roman Hiſtorians*, which might diſcreetly have beene omitted without any defect or maime at all to their *Hiſtory*: and by omitting thoſe lighter digreſſions, miniſtred leſſe offence to a modeſt Reader.

A juſt reproofe of indiſcreet Tranſlations.

Truth is, we are apt enough to become deprav'd by our owne illimited affections; and little need to have a plat-forme drawne to us, to beget in us a new brood of vicious inventions. Many particulars, no doubt, might ſuit well the Hiſtory in his Originall, in reſpect of the time, place, and perſons, wherein and to whom it was addreſſed: which, attired in another Dialect, and publiſhed in theſe our latter times, would not

relliſh

reliſh ſo well to a cleare Judgement.

That conſpicuous Light of the Eaſterne Church, whoſe Devotion and Learning have contracted themſelves in ſo unanimous a manner, as no ſucceeding Age but ſhall reape benefit by the peruſall of his holy Labours; ſaith, that anciently the *Romans* worſhiped *Vertue* and *Honour* for Gods. Whence it was, that they built two Temples, which were ſo ſeated, as none could enter the Temple of *HONOVR*, unleſſe he firſt paſſed through the Temple of *VERTVE*: to ſignifie, that none was to be honoured, unleſſe by ſome *Vertue* he had firſt deſerved it. The Morall admits no other ingenuous Expoſition, than its owne genuine expreſſion: For *Honour*, none ſhould be ſo daring-bold, or preſumptuouſly confident upon a credulous conceit of their owne worth, as to wooe her, much leſſe to winne her, till by paſſing through *Vertues* Temple, he get free admittance unto her. *Aug.*

Now tell me, what *Honour* ſhall accrue to thoſe goodly Labours, beautified with glorious Frontiſpieces, garniſhed with all the Ornaments and Embelliſhments of Art, countenanc'd by a powerfull Patron, and accommodated with all thoſe Helps which the extenſive Labours of an *Author* can require: when it ſhall appeare to the World, that thoſe Lines of his never received approvement from the Temple of *Vertue*? Oh, how many ſickly Judgments have I knowne of this ſort, who by neglecting their choice of Arguments tending to the advancement of good-

goodneſſe, and beſtowing their Oyle on ſuch as leaſt deſerved their imployment, have periſhed in the eſteeme of honeſt Wits, and diſparraged themſelves moſt, where they expected to have beene honour'd moſt! But as this may be properly conſtrued an errour of life; where the affection of an Author, either in reſpect of the generall inordinacy of the Time, chuſeth rather to fit his Pen to the corruption of the Age, by delivering to her what ſhe moſt affects: or out of a weakneſſe and deficiency of Judgment, preferres a light or laſcivious Subject, ſolely apt to deprave many, improve none; before ſuch as are ſerious, and might tend to the benefit of the Publique, being methodically diſpoſed, and faithfully rendred, as Tranſcripts of that nature, are to be publiſhed. So there is another errour commonly ariſing from ignorance of the Language, wherein ſuch a Subiect was writ. As the *Greeke*, ſo is the *Latine* copious and fluent: in both which it is very eaſie to offend, either by too childiſh rendring, or erroneous miſtaking of the Originall expreſſion.

In ijs miserè defecerunt, de quibus maximè præsumpserunt. Vid. Catal. Hist.

But the *Latine* Tongue being of moſt uſe, becauſe of generall'ſt Notion through the World; as alſo for that moſt of the *Greeke* Hiſtories were rendred by faithfull Interpretors in that Tongue, received moſt acceptance: and that not onely in the *Latian* confines, but in more remote places where other Tongues were in requeſt.

We read in *Dion Caſſius*, of a principall man in *Greece*, that by *Claudius* was put from the Order

order of Judges, for being ignorant of the Latin Tongue.

That in all the regions of *Pannonia* it was known: *Velleius* will afford you ſufficient authority.

Velleius lib. 2. Strabo. lib. 3. & 4. Apuleius in Floridis.

Secondly, that it was ſpoken in a free and native Idiome, in *France* and *Spaine*.

Thirdly, in *Affricke*.

And (to reflect upon more Divine authorities) it ſeemeth that the Sermons of *Cyprian* and *Auguſtine* yet extant (of *Auguſtine* it is manifeſt) that they preached to the people in Latin. But in the Eaſt parts of the Empire, as in *Greece* and *Aſia*, and ſo likewiſe in *Affricke*, from the greater *Syrtis* Eaſt-ward, it appeares not in our reading nor collection from others, that the *Roman* Tongue ever grew into any common uſe. And the reaſon of it ſeemes to be, for that in thoſe parts of the Empire it became moſt frequent, where the moſt and greateſt Colonies were planted.

Now, what abſurdities are and have bin uſually committed upon ignorance of the Tongue, which they laboured to Tranſlate, I leave to the judicious cenſures of ſuch, who are frequently verſ'd in ſuch Subjects: where they ſhall finde whole pages miſ-conſtrued, whole periods omitted, whereby the Author becomes miſerably mangled.

Now, to returne a true levell unto both; as the Originall expreſt acts done in that time vnto life; and, perchance, glanced at ſome egregious abuſes of that Time, or rather diſplayed them in

their deepeſt colours: So is his *Tranſlator* in an apt and proper phraſe to render him: and if any impertinent, or (which is worſe) vicious paſſages occurre, with a modeſt ſilence to paſſe over them; rather then by an unneceſſary inſerting of them, informe the preſent age in knowledge of them.

In obſerving this, their *Labours* ſhal deſerve to be inchained in our eminent'ſt Libraries, and retaine in them a confirmed fame; while *lighter ſubiects*, which receive their beauty from the complies of Time, or adorne themſelves with the quicke-vading flouriſhes of vanity, ſhall incline to the period of an eaſie Fate.

But becauſe I have entred into a Catalogue of Poëticall Hiſtories, I will proceed further into the memorable, and no leſſe ingenious Works of *Heſiod*: Much I cannot Write of Hyſtoricall matter in *Heſiod*; yet what he writ of that Subject, comprehended in it more height and true proportion, then any Poët that ever writ. With what hazarding danger doth hee there delineate the rare Combat between *Ceix* and *Cycnus*? Now equally poizing their valours (as if nature had made them of that equall power) to the end to leave the conflict uncertaine. Preſently (upon occaſioned advantage) hee ſhewes a better and a worſe: yet ſo, as without the leaſt imputation, or diſparrage to either of their ſpirits (making them as imparalell as equall) but applies the event to ſome auſpitious Genius, or Divine Power, favouring one more then another. Straight, with a new paſſage, he

he proceeds to the reſolved exploits of *Hercules*; and with an admirable facility deſcribes his Labours. Hee it was, that by the aſſiſting hand of *Iupiter*, of whom he deſcended, ſlew the *Cleonian* Lyon, the *Erimanthian* Boare, the Bull of *Marathon*, the *Lernean Hydra*, and the winged Hart: Hee who purchaſed no leſſe memorable Trophies in Hell, than on Earth; haling the three-necked *Cerberus*, and reſcuing *Proſerpina* (if the Supreme Powers had not inhibited) from the tyrannick hands of infernall *Pluto*: Diſcomfiting the *Centaures*, vanquiſhing *Achelous* (being his corrivall in the love of faire *Deianira*) the *Stymphalides*, the *Cremona* Gyants, the trayterous *Neſſus*, *Antæus*, *Augeas* Stables, Apples of *Heſperides*, *Cacus*, *Buſyris*, hurling *Diomedes* to his Horſes (to quit his owne tyranny) freeing *Heſyone* from the Whale, ſacking *Troy* in revenge of the perfidious *Laomedon*, ſubduing thoſe invincible Giants, *Dericlus* and *Albion*, redeeming *Orcalia*, and *Betricia* from the captivity of *Gerion*: and wearing the *Amazon* Baldrick, to intimate his victories in thoſe warlicke Provinces.

Hercules Labours.

Theſe, and the like, doth *Heſiod* ſet downe with that probable coherence, that if the matter it ſelfe did not imply an impoſſibility, one would be certainly induced to beleeve ſo concordant an Hiſtory. Preſently he deſcends to the *Generation* of the *Gods*, making up a Genealogy in that diſtinct order, as the Pagan Gods (for ſo one hath obſerved) were much indebted to him for

ſo well deſerving their pedigree, which without his invention (perhaps) had laine obſcure.

How Invention may ſtand with the contexture of an Hiſtory.

Now, howſoever theſe Inventions may ſeeme improper for the ſtate or ſtructure of an *Hiſtory*; becauſe it behoves an Hiſtorian to relate with probability whatſoever hath hapned either in his owne Time or any former Age: Yet are theſe, imbelliſhments to *Hiſtory*; being writ rather to beautifie than confirme; and to cheere the conceit, than to enforce it to an improbable beliefe. No doubt, but many of thoſe Eminent Heroës, whom Time either flattered, or Oracles deluded, or ſome other ſelfe-opinionate Conceit tranſported, were incouraged to deſignes of infinite difficulty, to prove themſelves deſcended from a Deity. Beſides this, they imagined, being ſo deſcended, they were invulnerate. This it was, which put them on Actions above conceit, to diſperſe their Fame, and preſerve that Opinion which the Age reteined of their deſcent.

Excellent Emblemes ſhadowed under Poëticall fictions.

Howſoever, excellent Emblemes were ſhrouded under thoſe Poëticall Fictions. *Hirſuta nuces optimos præbent nucleos.* The ſhell may ſeeme meane, but the kernell ſweete.

When *Achylles*, that glory of the *Grecians*, had expos'd himſelfe to all dangers, that Hoſtility or the force and fury of an Enemy could preſſe upon him; in the end, hee was wounded in the heele; for there onely, as the Poëts feigne, he was mortall, and conſequently vulnerable. This includes a darke but dainty Morall. Many, howſoever they come on bravely, and can endure not

not onely the firſt brunt, but expreſſe a wondrous height of reſolution, during all or moſt part of the heate of the day, yet in the *heele* are they wounded. They crowne not the Day of their Actions with a glorious Evening, but faile moſt when the Merit of their Actions ſhould be moſt ſhining. For in this ſhould every Heroïck Spirit imitate the Sunne; whoſe property it is to ſhew moſt beauty in the Setting: ſo they, more in their Cloſe than their Beginning.

Yet, were theſe Hiſtoricall Inventions of the Poëts, touching the *Generation* of the *Gods*; in many reſpects defective, and in ſome abſurd. Eſpecially, in portraying of them aged, or addicted to ſome vicious quality or other: wherein they ſeemed to confound Mortality with Immortality: a pure integrious eſtate with impiety.

For the firſt, it was an excellent Saying of *Theocritus*, who obſerving that popular ſtupidity of ſuch as repoſed their ſole confidence in Idols, with the vanity of them: ſeeing, how even thoſe Gods, whoſe Modells they retained, and to whoſe memories they were erected, were tranſlated or removed none knew whither; incouraged thoſe who ſuffered for their Contempt towards thoſe Pagan Deities in this manner: "[a] *Be* "*of good courage, when Gods dye before Men.* Againe, ſpeaking of a *Mute Deity*: "[b] *Wherein can* "*that Goddeſſe availe him that worſhips her, who* "*cannot ſpeake to him that worſhips her?*

So as *Tullus Hoſtilius* putting [c] FEARE and PALENESSE in the number of his Gods: *It is*

[a] *Bono eſt ote animo, quando Dij moriuntur ante homines.* Theocritus *in* Cle. Alex. *Protrep.*

[b] *Quid præſtare volenti poteſt, quæ loqui non poteſt?* Lactant. *de falſa Relig. lib.* 1. *Cap. Dea Muta.*

[c] *Pavorem Pallоremque.*

pitty (saith *Lactantius*) *that ever his Gods should goe from him.*

Notwithstanding all this, in the relation of their actions and such intervening Occurrents as hapned in their Oppositions, they deserve applause, though no credible approvement. And the more to be admired were their descriptions, in regard they fixed on no other Story either Transcribed, or any other way delivered, then what invention had first moulded aud recommended to posterity. Yet observe what congruity these held, both in describing them what they were, from whence they came, what exploits they did, with the severall Offices to which they were designed, or rather Originally interessed: and those distinct passages of their lifes, with the concurrency of opinions touching their birth, continuance and increase, cannot chuse but beget wonder.

You shall not find in any one of these, peculiar Offices confounded: *Liber* must not intermeddle with the care of the *Vines*; nor *Neptune* play the *Mercurist*. Distinct Offices were recommended to severall supposed Deities: and this the antient *Ethnicks* held with such ceremonious reverence, as nothing could be with more solemnity observed.

For the latter, *absurdity*, wherein the Pagans made their Gods addicted to all vice and impiety: This might have declined them from such adoration; when those Persons whom they so highly honoured, deserved in their actions so little imi-

tation,

tation. But to take *Survey* of thoſe conteſts or civill Warres among ſt themſelves, either ariſing from precedency; or grounded upon jealouſy, or ſome other occaſionall diſtaſte, would beget a deſerving admiration in any judicious Reader: obſerving, what Hiſtoricall Art derived her light from invention; and in what excellent order diſpoſed, though reſtrained by rules of dimenſion.

Lucian deſerves his place, whoſe otherwiſe ill-deſerving parts, being a profeſt foe to all divine adoration, purchaſed him an end as miſerable as his prophanations merited; being devoured by Dogges: yet in this regard wee have propounded our Opinion about Hiſtoricall fictions, I will give him his due place: one of an excellent Wit, ripe Underſtanding, and laborious withall, to find out the ancient Manuſcripts, and records of authorized Hiſtories: yet, foraſmuch as his writings are interlarded now and then with invective ſpeeches againſt the Cœleſtiall Powers, arguing too much of Natures power, too little of the Soveraigne of Nature: I would have the Generous Reader to prepare himſelfe in the peruſall of ſuch Diſcourſes, as *Calipſo* inſtructed *Vlyſſes* againſt the *Sirens* Inchantments, thus inviting him:

Huc ades ô ingens Græcorum gloria Vlyſſes,
Siſte Ratem, &c. ——Thus Engliſhed.

Homer in Iliad. Lib. 2.

Come hither Noble Irhacus,
of valiant Greekes the choice,
Take harbour here, incline thine eare
unto the Sirens voice:

For

For there nere was any did paſſe,
ſince we arrived here,
This liquid way, but wiſht to ſtay,
our warbling notes to heare.
Hence pregnant wits, and ripe conceits
much knowledge have conceiv'd:
As for the acts you did at Troy,
we newes long ſince receiv'd.
And how the Gods purſu'd the Greekes,
the Trojans Greekes *purſue,*
The Grecians *hate in ſacking* Troy,
Heavens hate in wracking you.

Of theſe Inchantments did *Calypſo* fore-warn *Vliſſes* with this preparation, that hee ſhould command his Aſſociates in his ſhip, to bind him, when hee approached neere thoſe fatall Harmoniſts, and to ſtop their eares, leaſt they ſhould be made a prey to their cruelty. So muſt every one prepare himſelfe in ſuch Siren-diſcourſes. The liberty of theſe times, perſwades ſome too eaſily to *Lucians* arguments: and thoſe which (in feare of divine power) dare not deny the Omnipotency of the Immortall power in word, yet their prophane converſation implies an abſolute Apoſtacy in them in their workes. I wiſh theſe digreſſions were not needfull: for then I might more directly proceed in my diſcourſe, which the depravedneſſe of times will in no caſe ſuffer.

Feigned Hiſtories approved, tending to inſtruction.

But in theſe feigned Hiſtories I wholly exclude all ribaldry; times themſelves have inſtruction ſufficient for obſcene ſubjects, without any further

ther excitements: nor can I admit, that thoſe unprofitable Stories of *Primalion*, *Palmerin de Oliva*, *The Knight of the Sunne*, *Gerilion*, with many other fictive Diſcourſes, ſhould be entertained by Youth. Many of theſe Relations have ſtrangely tranſported divers well-promiſing Wits into ſtrange amazements; eſpecially ſuch as conceive more delight in them, than more ſerious ſtudies. Some wee have heard, that in reading the ſtrange adventures of *Orlando Furioſo*, and conveying the very impreſſion of his amorous paſſion to themſelves, would preſently imitate his diſtraction, run ſtarke naked, make Loveſongs in commendation of their *Angelica*, put themſelves to intollerable torments to gaine the affection of their ſuppoſed Miſtreſſes. Others, in imitation of ſome valiant Knights, have frequented Deſarts, and uninhabited Provinces, ecchoing in every place their owne vanities, endorſing their Names in barkes of Trees, wholly turned ſavage and untractable, to perſonate that Knight more lively.

Such Hiſtories I onely allow of (whether in Proſe, or Verſe, for Epicks may be writ in either) as yeeld profit with delight; not ſubjecting their diſcourſe to obſerve ſome indiſcreet Humour of the Time, for application, but prevention. Many read, and (in the looſneſſe of their owne lives) make application of the worſt unto themſelves; hoping with *Heroſtratus*, to be memorable for villany: Theſe are like Spiders, that turne the ſweeteſt and moſt wholeſome

Such Hiſtories onely merit that name, which yeeld profit with delight.

flowers to ranke poyſon; the diſcredit of an Hiſtory, and a great ſtrengthener of vice.

☞ He falleth upon a juſt reproofe of uſeleſſe Readers of Hiſtories: with ſuch as cull onely grounds for themſelves, to comply with their owne deſires.

And here might I take occaſion, to fall upon a juſt reproofe of uſeleſſe Readers of Hiſtories; with ſuch, as cull onely grounds for themſelves, to comply with their owne deſires: As the *Ambitious*; who reflects onely upon high aëry Spirits: but never makes any uſe of their fall. An aſpiring *Philotas* is the Object hee eyes, and his deſignes, the Coppy after which he moulds his Actions. Oh, how highly is hee tranſported, when he ſees Ambition mounted: looking ever after *Hamons* Honour, but ſeldome or never on his Ladder? Indirecteſt paths are the wayes hee moſt affects: and like a youthfull *Aſcanius*, ſcorns to walke in common tracks, or to converſe with ought leſſe than Empires. Hee holds Opinion with that Univerſall Monarch, that "Kingdomes got by deſcent, derive to their poſſeſſors "no perſonall merit. He had rather win than inherit; atchieve by the Sword, than enjoy by ſucceſſion. Such as theſe ſay with *Tiridates* in *Tacitus*; *To reteine their owne, is in the power of every private State; but to ayme at that which is anothers, is a Princely praiſe.* This it was (as I have elſewhere obſerved) that cauſed *Themiſtocles* to walke in the Night-time in the open ſtreete, becauſe hee could not ſleepe; the Reaſon whereof when ſome men enquired, who were to him more intimately endeered, he anſwered, that the Triumph of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to take his reſt. So impatient of reſt is Ambition, as it cannot

The Ambitious mans Object in his Reading.

Sua retinere privatæ domus, de alienis certare regia laus eſt. Tacit.

☞

Tuſc. lib. 4.

cannot endure either Competitor or Equall; but a reflexe had to them infinitely diſtracts him: ſo as, he cannot poſſibly enjoy himſelfe, becauſe he envies their greatneſſe, whom generall Opinion holds either equall or tranſcendent to himſelfe.

It is no leſſe to be wondred at, with what ſerious attention theſe ambitious *Fire-flies*, who ever ſinge their wings in the flames of their owne aſpiring, read, and diſcuſſe every circumſtance tending this way; with a perſonall application to themſelves; as if they were the men which the Hiſtory aym'd at: and whoſe Actions, they hope, e're long, will beget an *Iliad* to ſucceeding times, to admire their valour; and to erect ſurviving Trophies to their ſurviving honour. Thus doe they catch at ſhadows, leaving the ſubſtance to ſuch judicious and competible Readers; who make uſe of thoſe ancient Records to their benefit: in collecting what is moſt uſefull, and with a diſcreet averſion ſleighting whatſoever might be occaſionally hurtfull.

Nor be theſe High-flyers, who ſeldome goe gray-headed to their Graves, onely reproveable in the abuſe of their Readings; but the *voluptuous* too: who, when they fall upon any paſſage that complies with the lightneſſe of their fancy, ſo highly affect it, as nothing more delights them, than to diſcourſe of ſuch ayry pleaſures, as preſent themſelves in a curſorie manner to their deluded conceits. Theſe are altogether for Stories of Love; where every Line workes ſuch

The Voluptuous mans Object in his Reading.

moving impreſſions in their unſteady fancies: as they reduce every period of Loves diſcourſe, to a Sceane of Action; wherein they wiſh themſelves Prime-actors, to cloſe in a perſonall re-greet, with ſo light and ſenſuall a Relation.

Ganimedes Rape; *Laïs* looſe Love; white teeth, rolling Eyes, diſplayed Breaſts; a winning Looke; a Ceruſſe Cheeke; a beautifull complexion (an exteriour good, and if corrupted, an interiour evill) being that which *Euryale* ſo much praiſed, when ſhe waſhed the feet of *Vlyſſes*, namely, *Gentle ſpeech and tender fleſh*: theſe are proper Subjects for theſe light-fancied Amoriſts.

I muſt confeſſe, that no Hiſtory can be ſo ſerious, but it muſt upon occaſion relate ſome lighter paſſages, which equally poiſed according to the time, ſhould not breed theſe effects; but rather beget in a Continent and well-compoſed Reader, a deteſtation of whatſoever he ſhall finde vicious: and an ardent deſire after that which ſhall appeare truely generous and vertuous.

Alcæus, a man of good reputation, and generall obſervance in the Common-wealth, what toies wrot he of the love of yong-men, immixing ſometimes thoſe lighter fancies in his ſerioueſt Subjects? All the Writings of *Anacreon* (as if thoſe Diſcourſes had got higheſt place in his Invention) were onely of love. But moſt of all others, *Rheginus* even burned with Love, as appeareth by his Writings; being continued paſſages of winning delight: and intrancing the unwary peruſer of his amorous Conceits, with deceiving

ceiving ſhaddowes. Yea, even Philoſophers, (and that by the Councell and Authority of *Plato*, whom therefore *Dicearchus* did worthily reprehend) became the Commenders and Honourers of Love. For *Dicearchus*, a *Silician* Philoſopher, and *Ariſtotles* Scholler, Writing a Booke of the SPARTAN Common-wealth, diſtaſted highly the opinion of ſuch, who bearing the ſtyle of grave and reverend Men, gave way in their Workes, that any liberty ſhould be introduced into a civill ſtate: or authorized any Labours, were they Hiſtorical, Poëticall or Mixt, to have freedome in corrupting youth, or depraving the prime ſeedes of eaſie and pliable diſpoſitions. Theſe, who ſtand thus affected, and whoſe Readings are ſoly fixt upon ſenſuall delights; it were fitting for them to weane their affections, at leaſt, to divert their eyes from thoſe ſenſible Objects, which ingage reaſon to the ſervile Obedience of appetite; and to re-collect their *Diviner parts*, to patternes of continence: ſuch as may informe them what to do; how to remove occaſions: and conſequently, free their inward Manſions or Receptacles from theſe corruptions. An excellent Patterne or incomparable Mirror in the command or Soveraignty of his affections, did that yong man *Spurina* in *Valerius Maximus*, ſhew himſelfe; whoſe beauty did ſo infinitely become him, as it occaſioned many Women to luſt after him: which this noble youth no ſoonerperceived (note this admirable act in a Pagan) then hee wounded *Val. Max. lib. 4 cap. 5.*

his face, that by the ſkarhe ſuſtained, his beauty might become more blemiſhed, and conſequently, all occaſion of luſting after it, clearely removed. Diverſe inſtances, though not altogether ſo impreſſive, might be here inſerted, tending to like uſe; but brevity, as it is the helpe of Memory, ſo my deſire is to accommodate the Reader with inſtances uſefull and commodious, rather then unneceſſarily numerous.

The Covetous mans Object in his Reading.

Nor be the *Covetous*, (if their deſire of gathering may admit ſo much time as to peruſe an *Hiſtory* in a whole age) leſſe reprooveable in this kinde. For theſe, if they finde one Worldly wiſe; no matter though he not onely grounded but improved his eſtate by Extortion, and raiſed his poſterity to an unknowne Title of Gentry by deceit and colluſion: yet muſt his life and actions be the line of their directions.

They looke not on *Midas* fate, but his golden ſtate. *Tagus* they deſire, nor care they much (ſo they may purchaſe it) to be drowned in it. Theſe hold no ſubſtance to be purely good, unleſſe it be guilded with gold. Theſe never remember the ſaying of that wiſe *Simonides*; who being asked once, whether *Vertue* or *Riches* were of more reputation; made anſwere, *That the vertuous did more frequent the doores of the Rich, then the Rich of the vertuous.* Implying, that piety was for the moſt part attended on by pouerty; but ſeldome was vertue accompanied by proſperity.

Now to apply an antidote to this infection, and cure in them this diſtemper'd affection; as the

the *Vnicornes* Horne is of ſuch ſoveraigne vertue, as being dipt in water, it cleares and purifies it: ſo muſt their earthy depreſſed mindes be purified by ſome powerfull infuſion, or they will never endure to alter their diſpoſition. To remove then thoſe ſcales which darken their intellectuall part; their only ſafe courſe is to withdraw themſelves a little from talking with Earth: and to fix the eye of their Contemplation on a diviner Object, the Store-houſe of Heaven. The vanity, frailty and mutability of the one, will inhance the quality and dignity of the other. The meere mentall obſervance of theſe, without any further experience, (wherein Hiſtoricall examples will affoord no ſmall light) cannot chuſe but qualifie their Temper, and enforce them to crye out with that Divine father: *O how miſerable is the World, and how miſerable they who follow the World! ſeeing, that men of this World have alwayes excluded their workes from partaking of life in the World to come.*

O quàm miſerrimus eſt mundus, & miſeri qui eum ſequuntur! Semper enim homines Mundi opera excluſerunt à vitâ. Chryſ. *ſup.* Mat.

Thus have we traced over the various paths of three vicious Readers; all others may be in theſe included, who make not that benefit of *Hiſtory*, to which it was primarily addreſſed; but by fruitleſſe & unneceſſary obſervations, diſparrage their owne judgments, in preferring thoſe before paſſages of more high and uſefull conſequence. So as, I may properly reſemble them to* *Vſeleſſe Travailers*, who take notice of ſuch things as are moſt frivolous, or what is worſe, vicious.

*He reſembles fruitleſſe Readers to uſeleſſe Travellers, who take notice of ſuch things as are moſt frivolous, or which is worſe, vicious.

Others there be, that tranſported onely with the

the delight and preſent variety of the Hiſtory, make Hiſtory onely (as our Gallants do their Tobacco) a ſpender of Time: They apply not the fruit or uſe of Hiſtories, but as in ſome pleaſant or delightfull dreame, ſatisfied for the preſent time; but paſt, quite razed out of Memory. In ſtories of this nature, (ſuch I meane as be feigned) I approve of thoſe beſt that reſemble Truth the neereſt, according to *Flaccus* opinion:

Ficta voluptatis cauſâ ſint proxima veris.

For the impoſſibility of the Relation oftentimes maketh the Subject more ridiculous: whereas the concordancy, or apt connexion of the Hiſtory (though the maine plot be falſe) enforceth more attention.

And thus much of *Poëticall Hiſtories:* I will come to the ſecond Branch of my Diviſion of Hiſtories (to wit) *Morall.*

Morall Hiſtories.

Morall Hiſtories be ſuch, as conduce to a Civil and Morall inſtitution of Life or Manners; Teaching what is to be done, and what avoided. *Xenophon* in his Inſtruction of *Cyrus*, propounds what reaſons ſhould eſpecially induce a Morall Hiſtorian to ſpeake more of examplary Motives to Vertue, then any thing elſe; "Becauſe (ſaith "he) if *Cyrus* had not bin elected King amongſt "Shepheards, it may be, he had never reigned "over the *Perſians:* but the very Title, which was "given him by Rurall Swaines, enforced him "to attempt further.

Morall

Morall Hiſtories teach Men to behave themſelves in all affaires: If imployed in Embaſſages, Commerce, or any Negotiation whatſoever, it directs them how to hazard fairely, beare themſelves diſcreetly, and ſupport the burthen impoſed on them ſtoutly. Theſe kind of ſtories are the beſt Nurſes, they weane us from childiſh effeminacy, and Traine us in more virile and Man-like actions: ſo as Education is called by the Philoſopher, *A ſecond Nature*, habituating us to the kind of our breeding: Morality likewiſe is called, the *Soveraigneſſe of Education, The ſquare of humane Actions, the beſt Schoole-miſtreſſe for unbridled youth, that reſtraines affections raging, erects our paſſions too much aſſwaging, tempers our ſpirits, and Reduceth us to that perfect Symmetry*, *Vt ex pede Herculem*, you may know *Hercules* by his foote, the inward habit by externall appearance.

Hence was it that *Alexander* gloried ſo much of his *Stagyrian* Moraliſt: *Achylles* of his *Phœnix*: of whom he had received ſo much good, as hee ingeniouſly acknowledged; by *Phœnix* he could both, *Bene dicere, & bene agere.*

To be briefe, there is no exorbitancy in Nature, which by Morall Narrations hath not bin reformed: *Seneca* was naturally covetous: which diſpoſition, or malady rather, he ſhrowds covertly in that ſentence of his, inſerted in his Book, *De Tranquillitate Anima. Nec agroto, nec valeo.* Yet by daily conference with Morall Hiſtories, and precepts of civill Inſtitution, he could moderate his deſire of having, eſteeming the Treaſure of

his minde onely worth poſſeſſing. *Qui cuncta habet, nec tamen habetur*: as *Saluſt* obſerveth.

The like we read of *Stilpho*, a *Roman*, whom (as *Cicero* ſpeaketh) was of all other moſt libidinous; yet by reading of Morall Precepts, amplified with grave Examples, became moſt continent.

Morall Hiſtories, or Narrations in ſuch Hiſtories, highly commended; with their effects.

Whence it is, that Morall Hiſtories, or Narrations in ſuch Hiſtories, are and were ever highly commended, by reaſon of their effects: eſpecially in Youth, whoſe diſpoſition being aptly compared to a cleare or pure Table, which, as yet had never taken any impreſſion, receives her firſt infuſions with moſt retention. For the firſt Seeds take the deepeſt roote; the firſt Liquors ſtrongeſt taſte; the firſt Colours trueſt dye. Theſe, by certaine innate ſprinklings of goodneſſe, conferre the Lives and Actions of ſuch, as they read of, in an equall Diameter. Here they obſerve, how *prudently* ſuch perſons managed their affaires; how diſcreetly they moderated their affections: and with what facility and felicity they attained their propoſed ends. By which they collect, that deliberation promiſeth ſucceſſe to every action. Amongſt theſe, they finde a *Fabius* more proſperous by delaying; than heady *Cethegus* is by attempting.

This teacheth them wiſely and cautiouſly to prevent danger before it approach, leſt a too late *had I wiſt* beget in them a Repentance without helpe; a deſperate repulſe without hope.

It is written that the Emperour *Titus* (that

dainty

dainty Darling of *Mankind*) uſed to have borne before him a *Dolphine* wreathed about an Anchor, with this Impreſſe: *Feſtina lentè*. Which elegant Embleme they make excellent uſe of: They conceive by this, how nothing can be done happily, that is done haſtily: and that nothing of high importance can poſſibly be atchieved, being to any ſtrict limit or compaſſe of time confined. *Eucher.*

The conſideration of theſe Motives holds them from raſhneſſe; an errour to which unbounded Youth is commonly moſt ſubject: by which meanes they avoid thoſe many dangers, whereto the follies of Youth ſtand too frequently ingaged.

Nor doe they onely finde Inſtances worthy their Imitation in *Subiects* of prevention and cautious providence: (a Leſſon of neceſſary conſequence for Yong-men;) but in actions of *Iuſtice*, where that which is right and juſt, ſhould be fairely and freely rendred to every man. Of this, they finde ſundry ſingular Examples in Ethnicke Authors. *Phocion*, that Honour of *Greece*, will not ſpeake for *Charilus*, though he be his Sonne in Law, but in juſt Cauſes onely. Nor that Worlds Commander, the invincible *Alexander*, incline to his Mother, if her Requeſt tend to the ſhedding of innocent blood, or imbruing his imperiall hands in Murder. Nor that unhappy *Mithridates* ſuffer (in his reſpect of Juſtice) the corruption of *Acilius* to paſſe unpuniſhed: leſt his Impunity might become a Priviledge to others, to challenge the like benefit. In theſe they

obſerve of what eſteeme the profeſſion of Juſtice was in all Ages: and how a native Inſtinct wrought ſuch incredible effects on Barbarous people; as their very Actions merited both imitation and admiration in their Succeſſours. Neither could the Philoſophers of thoſe times, wherein they flouriſhed, be more exact in defining what Juſtice was, than theſe were in performing what Juſtice requir'd.

For our Life, as it is a Globe of Examples; ſo by collecting whatſoever wee ſee imitable in others; if we tender our owne well-being, or her breaſt from whence we had our nurſing and firſt being; wee will take eſpeciall care to expreſſe to life, whatſoever wee have at any time read commendable in others.

In Arguments likewiſe of *Temperance*, they cull out many dainty Hiſtoricall Flowers; apt to ſweeten the Seed-plot of their Youth with a ſelect variety of Examples. Yea, even in thoſe Encounters, wherein the Conqueſt appeares to be of moſt difficulty; to wit, reſtraint of our deſires in ſenſuall Objects: wherein the Victory is ſo much more glorious, as the opportunity and motive of their fancy attractive or precious.

They read how *Scipio*, being a young man of Twenty foure yeeres of Age, in the ſurprizall of a City in *Spaine*, repreſſed his flames of luſt, and confined his deſires to the Rule of Reaſon, when a beautifull Maid was brought him; reſtoring her untoucht with a great Reward to young *Allantius*, to whom ſhe was eſpouſed.

The

The like in *Alexanders* Continency to *Darius* Wife and Daughters; whoſe Princely moderation and command over his affections, made his Memory no leſſe glorious than his Victories.

The like in *Zenocrates*, a right Philoſopher, becauſe of himſelfe an abſolute Commander; who remaines immoveable in his reſolution to Continence, amidſt all thoſe voluptuous inducements, ſenſuall provocations and enticements, laſcivious dalliance and embracings of a light-licentious *Laïs*. From the peruſall of theſe they conclude, "*There is nothing comparably precious* "*to a continent Soule.*

Laſtly, to (exemplifie in each of our Cardinal Vertues, what rare effects may be derived to Youth in theſe Hiſtoricall Readings) they obſerve the Conſtancy and Reſolution of forraine Commanders; they admire their *Fortitude*, and braveneſſe of ſpirit. Neither can *Pyrrhus* Gold corrupt, nor his hideous Elephant amate a Noble *Fabius*.

Though an Imperious *Philip* threaten an *Athenian* Legat, that hee will cauſe his Head to be cut off; he has an Anſwer in ſtore to vye with the mounting Soveraignty of his State: "*If thou* "*take this Head from me, my Countrey will give* "*me another that ſhall be immortall.*

And they finde how gratefull ſome Princes were in the memory of their Subjects Loyalty; holding their fidelity and truſt to be the incomparableſt Treaſure that any Prince could enjoy upon Earth. This they conceive by the eſtimate

which *Darius* made of his *Zophyrus*, *Cyrus* of his *Cambyſes*; *Alexander* of his *Parmenio*, *Athens* of her *Draco*; *Epaminendas* of his *Pelopidas*, *Sparta* of her *Braſidas*.

In theſe, they exactly prize the value of true worth. Nor is it to be expreſſed with what eagerneſſe they purſue thoſe actions, which have purchaſed ſuch deſerving fame to their perſons.

It is reported, that *Ariſtides* (that memorable Mirror of Iuſtice) dying of the bite of a Weazle, exceedingly lamented that it was not a Lyon. Noble ſpirits embrace nothing with more eaſie acceptance then an Honorable fate. To die for ones Country; or to be ingaged to the very worſt of extreames for the purchaſe of her liberty, deſerved no ſolemnization in teares: This when youth ſeriouſly ſurveies, he no leſſe affectionately admires; and deſires nothing more then to go on ſucceſſively in a glorious emulation of their actions.

The infirmities of this time are great, and need the hand of an expert Phyſitian; no Medicine, nor Antidote, more ſoveraigne to cure theſe contagious Ulcers, then Morall Phyſicke, if the Diſeaſe be greene, (I meane the diſeaſes of the Mind:) We have here Lenitives to mittigate, if it be old, and growne to a κακοήθια, a very Gangrene, griefes inſenſible, being moſt incurable. We have Corraſives to eate away all thoſe corrupt Tetters that hinder the Cure. This is a ſingular Art, and farre ſurpaſſing *Galens*, *Æſculapius*, or *Hypocrates*: Their cures were but externall,

The praiſe of Morall Hiſtory.

nall, theſe internall: and ſo much more worthy is the cure of the Minde then the Body, by how much the one is more precious then the other. O Divine Art! O ſecret Myſtery! The *Greeks* called this Diſcourſe, *The life of Man*: for without it, he would degenerate from Man, and looſe the beſt ornaments of Humane nature: *The light of Reaſon, The Eye of Election.* ὁ τὶς μεγας! great indeed, in compariſon of the ſmall eſteeme this World makes of it: labouring of a great burthen of impiety, an huge freight of ſin, an inſupportable carriage; and feeling her owne ſtrength unfit for ſuch a weight, yet refuſeth to entertaine a companion that would willingly and readily lighten her burden.

Diſtempered Age, that labours of Minds phrenſie, captivated to unworthy bondage: how long will thy intellectuall eye be ſhut? How long hood-winckt? If thou fall with open eyes, thy Miſery is greater, ſeeing thy fall, yet would not prevent it, falling with blinded eyes: no marvell, that ſees thine owne infirmity, and ſcornes the direction of others eies to conduct thee. Alas! here be many intricate Mazes, unfrequented Labyrinths, places of imminent perill, and thou art blind: no ſuſpect of any Stratagem or Ambuſh doth poſſeſſe thee; thou promiſeſt thy ſelfe moſt ſecurity, when moſt beleagured with perill.

It was no marvell if miſerable *Oedipus* run into Brakes and Briers, when his erring feete were guided by two blind eyes? Here be many ſeducements: and as in the Pagan time, there were more

more Temples erected in honour to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, than to *Iupiter* and *Apollo*: So for one Example of Piety and Religion, we have ten of Vice and Licentiouſneſſe. Here the bait of Ambition, hung out and ſwallowed, and like enough by a Gudgion; there the painted Flagge of vain-glory, leading a Troupe of Vices in a Ring-dance: Here a Silken Foole well-eſteemed — for *Naſci à Principibus fortuitum eſt* — Hee was borne rich: There a ragged Sage deſcanting on Morall Precepts, but neither garded nor regarded. Here *Roſa Mundi*, the Roſe of Worlds vanity, ſet on a ſplay-foote, making Art a cover for Natures deformity: There a plume of Feathers dangling on a Head more light than Feathers, to make *Plato's* naked Definition of Man true: *Homo eſt Animal bipes, implume*: proving himſelfe by his *plume* to be none. No matter for Reaſon: They would be loath to be indued with more than is needfull for a phantaſticke head: An ordinary portion of Reaſon will ſerve an Ordinary. Oh that theſe poiſeleſſe Braines would but imploy their time in Morall Diſcourſes, what excellent matter might they finde out worthy the judicious approbation of refined Wits!

— Summa plebis deducta eſt gloria plumis.
A Caution for your Silken Gallant.
— Miſceri ſanguine Regum Nobile —

Plato's Definition.

It is obſerved that in *Athens*, and in *Rome* alſo, young Gentlemen were to be imployed in preferring ſome Law in behalfe of the people: or Patronizing ſuch as were poore, and deſtitute of ſuccour in themſelves: Patronizing ſuch, and protecting them in publick defence of their cauſe, or the like.

This

This was the firſt ſtep of preferment unto *Cicero*, defending *Roſcius* againſt *Scylla*: and that with ſuch vehemency, as generally hee was approved for his ſeriouſneſſe in a poore Actors cauſe. And ſure, generous mindes cannot be better expreſſed than in actions of this nature, whereby they may not onely ſecure themſelves and their entireſt affections from the frivolous aſſaults of irregular perturbations; but alſo purchaſe unto them the generall love and favour of ſuch as obſerve their diſpoſition, and admire it.

By Morall reading we uſe to be moſt excited to theſe compaſſionate effects: exampled in them whom wee deſervedly thinke of, and earneſtly covet to imitate: Not taxing them unworthily, nor commenting otherwiſe of their Vertues, than as we receive by Tranſcription from others. Former Ages (in this kind) have beene more charitable, but the apprehenſion of our owne defects makes us ſuſpectfull of others. As in *Rome*, if the *Piſoes* be frugall, they are cenſured Parcimonious; if the *Metelli* Religious, they are taxed Superſtitious; if the *Appij* Popular, they are tearmed Ambitious; if the *Manlij* Auſtere, they are ſtyled Tyrannous; if the *Lelij* Wiſe, they are Curious; the *Publicolæ* Aſpiring, if Courteous. Many ſuch *Mamothrepts* we have, that cenſure others actions to the worſt, making their owne depraved Judgments Cenſors of others Vertues. But Morall Precepts would remedy this Obliquity, and will us firſt be Maſters of our Affections, e're wee fiſh in the troubled

The fruit of Morall reading.

troubled waters of other mens errours: But this Age confirmes the Assertion of a wise *Roman* Senatour: *Suam cuiusq; culpam Authores ad causam transferunt*: Or, which *Seneca* writes in his Epistle to his friend *Lucil.* *Many* (saith hee) *my friend* Lucilius *commit faults in* Rome, *but will in no case heare that they committed them: the Ædile layes blame upon the Questor, the Questor on the Prætor, the Prætor on the Consul, the Consul on the Censor, the Censor on the Dictator.*

Apologizing and defending Errours, the greatest cherisher of them: For how is it possible wee should amend them, that will not confesse wee did commit them? But Acknowledgment is a precedent Directresse to Reformation, according to the *Tragedi:* words:

Seneca.

Quem pœnitet peccasse, pene est innocens.

☞ Acknowledgment of our Errours, whether it be in our Dialect & forme of speaking, or manner of living: with an ingenuous submitting of our Labours to the free Censure of others, argues a great measure of Sobriety & Discretion in us. Selfe-conceit a blemish to the exactest

It is an infallible Theorem; "*Humility is the "way to Glory.* Which can be expressed in nothing better, than in a free and genuine submission of our owne Judgments to others. Too much confidence begets strength of Errour: and he is the wisest, who in his owne conceit appeares humblest. Great Approbation is then to be given to such, who tender an acknowledgment of their errours, whether it be in their Dialect and forme of speaking, or manner of living: with an ingenuous submitting of their Labours to the free censure of others: which argues a great measure of Sobriety and Discretion in any: Whereas Selfe-conceit is a blemish to the exactest Labours: Neither shall such *Authors* free themselves from malicious Censures.

Rhem-

Rhemnius Palæmon that arrogant Grammarian, or rather Grammatist, vaine-gloriously boasted, that good Literature had first life by him, and should after dye with him (as having the first beginning, and should have a finall end with him:) or like *Gorgias* the Orator, who ever prest himselfe forward to the first Encounter.

Labours: Neither shall such *Authors* free themselves from malicious Censures.

But what do'es this vaine-glory beget them, but contempt and derision in such as observe them? The Age is subject enough to Errour, and apt enough to Apologize Vice, to give more liberty to the Offender. The way to breake this Chaine, is to lay aside our selves, and impartially to judge our selves and actions, as if they were not Ours, but Others.

For this Selfe-love makes us admire, what in others wee abhorre. A retyred privacy, many times, promiseth to the unwary delinquent, more freedome in offending: but vaine and fruitlesse are these promises. Is there any darknesse so thicke and palpable, that the piercing Eye of Heaven, which takes a full and perfect view of the whole Earth at once, measures the very least drop of the Ocean, and numbers the least portion of Sand upon the shore, cannot looke thorow it? Oh, if thou hope by sinning secretly to sinne securely, this thy ungrounded security shall bring thee to misery. It was a pretty saying of *Epicurus* in *Seneca*; "*How can Sinne be safe when* "*it cannot be secure? Or to what purpose is it to la-* "*bour to be hid, when that we doe cannot be hid?* And therefore *Prudentius* in one of his Hymns,

gives this good *Memorandum*:

"*What e're it be thou do'ſt by Day or Night,*
"*Thinke with thy ſelfe th' art alwayes in Gods ſight.*

It was *Seneca's* Counſell to his friend *Lucilius*; that whenſoever he went about to doe any thing, "he ſhould imagine *Cato* or *Scipio*, or ſome other "worthy *Roman* to be in preſence. And it was "the ſaying of St. *Bernard*, *That we are ever to ſet* "*ſome good man before us, that we may live as if he* "*looked over us.*

Bern. *de vitâ ſolitariâ.*

The way then to cure ſinne, is not to ſhroud it, nor with faire pretences to guild it; or by imputing the Cauſe to others, to mince it; but by a free and ingenuous diſcovery of it, to acknowledge the ground to proceed from our ſelves: Which acknowledgment will bring us to rectifie what is amiſſe: and bring that which we have ſo rectified, by a proficiency in goodneſſe, to more perfection.

For what is it, with *Alcibiades*, that beauty of *Athens*, to be ſkilfull in all Arts and Exerciſes; to winne the Palme in what enterprize wee take in hand; to be popularly affected; with Trophies and Triumphs honoured; and to have the Wheele of Fortune ſo fixt, and the Wings of Victory ſo clipt; as the former may never have power to diſcard us, nor the latter to flye from us: When our *Inward beauty*, farre ſurpaſſing all theſe light Embelliſhments of Art, becomes blemiſhed by that ſtaine, which holds ſo deepe a dye, as Time cannot raze it, nor ought but Infamy attend it?

The

The way then to cure Errour, is to ſubmit our Judgments to others cenſure: and in a wiſe and cautelous diſtruſt of our ſelves, to admit the advice and aſſiſtance of others in any matter of ambiguity; leſt wee deceive our ſelves by being too confident of our owne ſtrength.

That ſaying is true: "*Hee that ſeekes to be "more wiſe than hee can be, ſhall be found leſſe "wiſe than he ſhould be.*

The beſt Doctrine then to initiate us how to be wiſe, is not to be ſelfe-wiſe; but with an humble acknowledgment of our owne deficiencies, to aſcribe all praiſe unto Him who is ſolely wiſe.

In Morall Studies, much excellent matter may be choſen out of that Mirror of Morals, *Plutarch*; not onely to inſtruct Youth, in the Rudiments and Precepts of Vertue: As how to beare himſelfe in all occaſions; how to conceale and ſmother his paſſions, with a wiſe over-maſtring of his Affections; and how to redreſſe the multiplicity of injuries by taking opportunity by the Fore-top. But even old men likewiſe, ſuch as have ſeene many changes and alterations in their Times, and were well nigh perſwaded, that all the Volumes of the World could not ſhew them more, than they in the revolution of their Times had ſeene: But ſeeing Inſtructions rare to them, and unaccuſtomed Precepts fit for the matureſt Head to plod on, they then confeſſe that their old Age hath beene a Dotage, verifying,

Addiſcendo, ſe ſemper ſeneſcere: Reaping more profit by one Morall precept, then a whole yeares Experience in Worldly affaires.

Many old men we have (that can diſcourſe of the change of Princes) whoſe Gray-haires be as ſo many records of what they have ſeene. But alas, conferre with them of true Morall experience, and you ſhall finde them as young in hours, as old in yeares: Their knowledge in the Infancy, though their one foot in the grave, ready to bid adiew to the world, when they are ſcarſe halfe erudiated in the preventive ſleights of this world. A ſimple age! when we have no other Teſtimony that we have lived long, ſave onely our Gray-haires; and yet the general ignorance pleads pardon: none ſo generous as thoſe which know the leaſt; none of a ranked ſpirit, that will caſt the eye of a judicious applauſe, upon the meriting Labours of any man.

These Times old in yeeres, but young in houres.

Wherein, ſhould I fall upon reproofe of the Age, in her diſeſteeming Authors: and ſleighting their Labours; mine Oyle might ſeeme to taſte of too much Criticiſme: for the Profeſſors of Learning, they muſt not expect all Times nor all Eminent perſons to have Scales in readineſſe to weigh their Merits.

A reproofe of the Age, in her diſeſteeming Authors: and ſleighting their Labours.

For the *Rich*, whoſe thriving wayes will afford him ſcarce time to converſe either with Wit or Learning, leſt his providence in the meane time ſhould be a wanting to himſelfe, which he preferres before all the World; ſo hee finde graines enough to weigh his long-unſeene Gold; he little cares

cares how lightly Learning weigh in the eſtimate of men. For, good man, he makes no other uſe of Bookes, than Nurſes doe of Cradles, to rocke Babes in till they fall aſleepe.

And for our *Amorous Gallant*, whoſe *Cinnamon* Rinde is worth all the body beſide; hee is ſo continually practiſing in the Schoole of Complement; Firſt, for accommodating himſelfe in an handſome dreſſe, then how to weare it when he has crept into it; how to ruffle his boote, and make a gingling with his Heele, as if all his patrimony were behind him; how to powder his lockes, and ſweeten thoſe conſtant Creatures which familiarly attend him; how to beſprinkle his effeminate face with Lady-like *Love-ſpots*, which cannot chuſe but be as ſo many Lures to draw the eyes of his lightneſt *Livia* to looke on him. Theſe, I ſay, being his daily exerciſe, will not admit him ſo much time as to talke with an Author: Till his long training in the Schoole of vanity hath taught him ſo much, as he needes no other Tutor then his owne miſ-ſpent time to admoniſh him of his irregular courſe.

Nay, he leaves for moſt part, ſo ſmall a portion of fortune to himſelfe, as the ſurpluſage would ſcarce purchaſe his Author ſo much oyle as might ſupply his Lampe, in the compoſure of the moſt illaborate or compendious Labour.

But if at any time, his hand chance to dive into his pocket, to expreſſe his bounty to the Muſes; it may be properly ſayd of him, what was ſometimes ſpoken by an other in the ſame ſenſe:

"*Optimas*

"*Optimas gazas infimis ſervavit chartis:* Making onely choice of ſuch for Objects of his bounty, whoſe light unſtudied Lines detract from the Muſes beauty.

Nor are they to expect, that our *High-mounting Cedars*; whoſe Object is Honour; which rather than they will not purchaſe, they loſe themſelves for ever: can deigne to reflect on ſuch *Low ſhrubs*. For of all others, Subjects of Learning receive hardeſt digeſtion from Ambition. Lectures of Morality or Mortality can worke weake Impreſſions upon a reſtleſſe aſpiring fancy.

Compoſed mindes, ſetled thoughts, retyred Manſions are Receptacles for the Muſes.

Melius latebam procul ab Invidiæ malis remotus inter Corſici rupes Maris &c. Sen. in Oct.

Safe lay I hid, and free from Envies ſpite,
While Corſick *Rocks were my retired ſite.*

So ſpake *Seneca* for a *Seneca*. Yea, I have knowne ſome of theſe, never truely happy, till they became unhappy: receiving their moſt liberty from reſtraint; and the beſt knowledge of themſelves from a Grate. Then, and never till then, did theſe begin to read Man; nor to conceive the fraile condition of Man; nor to converſe with thoſe *Dead Counſellors*, which know beſt how to prepare and accompliſh Man. Then, and never till then, came Learning to be of Requeſt, or in their Bookes. So lightly is Learning favoured, ſo meanely countenanced by ſuch as Idolatrize the World, or are affected to pleaſure, or have in eager purſuite the ſhade of Honour.

Secluſus à Mundo, Sacro teneor Silentio.

Honour. But Learning is not hereby to be diſcouraged, becauſe ſleighted or deſertleſly diſvalued: This hath long before theſe preſent Times, bin her fate, and in all ages a common fault.

Wee read in our owne Chronicles, how one yeare all the Laurell Trees within our Iland withered, and afterwards contrary to all expectation, revived and flouriſhed againe: Let Learning apply this to Herſelfe; though her bloſſomes ſeeme dead, ſhee retaines ſtill life in the Root: Which, by propagation of her flowers and fruites, ſhall revive to her Honour; while ignorance buried in her owne aſhes, and incapable of light or life, ſhall never recover.

The cauſe why Learning is contemned.

It is Recorded, that *Licinius*, Coleague in the Empire with *Conſtantine* the Great (being uncapable of learning himſelfe) by reaſon of the ſlowneſſe or barrenneſſe of his underſtanding, was wont to call Learning the very poyſon and publicke plague, that infected the Realme: The *Romane* Hiſtorians, have applyed this vanity of his, rather to his want of judgement, then any thing elſe, being not able to comprehend the benefit of Arts.

Qui tegumento Herculeus, ferus naturâ, ardens libidinis, conſiliis ſtolidus. in vit. Aurel. Maxim.

The like of *Maximilian*, who was deſirous to attaine ſome extraordinary height in Eloquence; which when he could not (by reaſon of his naturall dulneſſe) attaine unto, hee envied and maligned others. Many have wee that ſecond theſe, glorying in their owne ignorance,

and making a ridiculous ſpectacle of Learning: as a ſuperficiall ornament to accommodate more the threed-bare Sophiſter, than the Generous Gallant.

I recall to minde the ancient preſage upon all Arts, and the prediction concurres well with this time: *Three-halfe pence for a Philoſopher, and ſmoake for a Counſellour.* It was ſpoken in the declining Age of the *Roman* Empire, when Vice rode in his foot-cloath, and Vertue (like a poore *Iriſh* Lacky) ran at his Stirrop. But Morall Learning illumines the intellectuall power with a better and clearer fore-ſight; ſhewing the difference betweene goodneſſe and appearance: for true Morals love not to garniſh their portraitures with ſhadows.

Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, & videbis.

The beſt meanes to diſtinguiſh betwixt the ignorant and morally inſtructed, is to put them into their habilliments of Nature; ſend them both forth naked into the world, and their diſtinct Characters will appeare more manifeſt. Alas, the Moraliſt cannot diſcourſe of what the World moſt affecteth; he ſees the ambitious man roving at unſetled ends, meaning to ingroſſe the whole World to himſelfe; he ſmiles at his illimited deſires, and wonders whereto his fond purpoſes tend: hee conſiders the event, ere hee take in hand the meanes; and hates deſire of popular praiſe, or oſtentation, leſt he ſhould grow proud by forraigne obſervances: hee entertaines death with a cheerefull brow. Terror of death is not terrible to one prepared for her ere ſhee come;

To whom death is not terrible.

come; alwayes taking her, as one of the neceſſities of Nature, and inevitable, meditating of her, as one— *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponit naturæ.* Theſe conſiderations ever fortifie a good Morall againſt the violence of all aſſaults inward and outward; apprehending his ſubſtance, and compoſition, to be ſuch as cannot barracadoe it ſelfe againſt the encounter of Nature.

Agathocles, that Tyrant of *Syracuſa*, in all his tyranny, had a good Morall Statue to repreſent to him the Idiome of his Mortality; having the upper part of his Image made of Marble, Gold, and Ivory, but the feet of Earth; to intimate of how weake and infirme ground, he and his goodly promiſing perſon ſtood. O! if we ſhould but read the choyce variety of divinely-compoſed Sentences, compriſed in thoſe elaborate Works of the ancient Morall Hiſtorians: they would move us to no leſſe apprehenſion of our owne weakneſſe, than if ſome expert or curious Painter, (*Apelles*-like) ſhould portray to us every part and lineament of this little man we carry about us. Morality (ſaith a good Morall) is Mans Anatomy; it ſhewes every part of his body, how compoſed, how diſpoſed: and preſcribes how this excellent compoſure may be beſt preſerved: It deales not by predominancy of Planets, (as our ponderous burthens of Nature calculate) but by an even Symmetry of Vertues governing the inferiour Spheares, the bodies lineaments. Nor deales

An excellent obſervation by a Tyrant.

☞ This Embleme is portrai'd to life, *pag.* 61.

Morality, Mans Anatomy.

it is like your *Phantaſtick Muſitian*, that beſtows more charges on the Cover of his Inſtrument, than the Inſtrument it ſelfe: but by the Covers debaſement, augments the Excellency of the Inſtrument, the divine faculties of the ſoule.

But I may ſeeme to run too farre in this Subject, confounding Morall Hiſtory with Philoſophy: which though I might defend; for Morall Philoſophy is nothing elſe than a Globe of Morall Precepts drawne from Hiſtoricall grounds; yet to make mine owne paſſage more ſmooth, I will deſcend to the next branch of Hiſtory, intituled *Phyſicall*.

HIſtories *Phyſicall*, be eſpecially converſant in the ſearch of the Natures of things: approving that Opinion of the Philoſopher: *Ea Phyſica ſunt, quæ Naturas rerum explorare ſolent*: whether things animate or inanimate; in living Creatures, as in the ſearch of Beaſts, Birds, Serpents, and the like; and of vegetive Bodies, as Plants: In creatures inanimate, as in the ſcrutiny of Mettals, the diſtinct natures of Stones, &c. With which Diſcourſes the greateſt Emperours have beene delighted. Thoſe admirable Works of *Pliny*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Ælian*, with many others, are ſufficient to erudiate the moſt incapable in theſe Relations: where they doe *Abdita rerum rimari*. Here deſcribing the very intimate natures of Beaſts, the rare and incredible vertues

The ſeverall kinds of Phyſicall obſervations.

of

of Plants, and Hearbs; the virulent natures of Serpents, and the attractive powers of Stones, Mettals, and the like. The *Crocodile*, a most dangerous Beast, (frequenting the River *Nylus*) and a profest foe to Man: The *Ichneumon*, a little creature, yet powerfull in her selfe, and in her power a profest foe to the *Crocodile*.

These two Beasts, in Nature and Feature different, by one peculiar Nation, (*Ægypt*) equally reverenced.

To take a more full Survey of the Natures of these, whosoever shall be pleased to peruse the History of the *West-Indies*; may find store of Relations of all sorts in this kind. As Wormes of strange qualities; Serpents of wonderfull proportions and features; venemous Vipers; of which whosoever are bitten, dye in short space: for few live to the fourth day, except present Remedy be applyed; which according to the strength and constitution of the party wounded, receives effect sooner or later: but not without danger of death to the Patient, though the Soveraignst Receipts that the secrecy of Art may finde out, be used.

He continues the Description of the Natures of divers Serpents; extracted from the Historicall Description of *Affrick*.

Of other sorts likewise, there may be found some of that humane and sociable Nature, as they affect nothing more than the Feature of Man: eying him with such a loving and friendly admiration, as nothing seemingly delights them more than to behold him.

The Region of *Congo*, by the Testimony of *Signor Odoardo*, as itis in *Vipers* numerous, so are they so venemous, that such as are bitten by them doe dye within the space of 24. Houres: But the *Negroes* are acquainted with certaine hearbs that will heale their wounds.

Others, as if they reteined the memory of that ancient Serpentine malice betwixt them, and the Seed of the Woman, no sooner come in the presence of that Sexe, than they redouble their fury; and in their wounding so vene-

venemous and incurable, that One of them chancing to bite an *Indian* Maide, which ſerved the Relator, during his aboad in thoſe parts; after ſuch time as he had cauſed the Surgians to Miniſter their ordinary cure, being not by all the Art and experiments they could uſe, able to do her any good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, dyed the third day for lacke of remedy, as the like had chanced to diverſe others. During the time of her languiſhing, ſhee reported how the Viper which bit her on the foot, was two ſpannes long or little leſſe: and that ſhe lept in the aire for the ſpace of more then ſixe paces (note the virulency of her nature) that ſhe might with more violence aſſaile her.

De Naturâ Cherſhydri, *vid. Nar. Imperij de* Congo.

The relation is ſtrange of the *Tarandula*, a kind of Spider bred in *Pulia*; which being of a diverſe nature, cauſeth diverſe effects: cauſing ſome to dance, ſome to ſing, or weep, or watch, or ſweat: The cure of it is by Muſicke: while the patient by dancing or ſome vehement exerciſe of that ſort repels the poyſon.

The various venemous qualities of Spiders cured by Muſicke.

Which effects may imply excellent Morals: we are all ſubject not onely to be ſurprized but empoyſoned by this *Tarandula*, this *Tetter* of our fleſh; unleſſe by ſweet Melody of the Divine ſpirit ſhe be charmed: yea, wee are ſure to be diſcomfitted by Sloath, if we retyre our ſelves from action, or give way to her effeminacy, whoſe only ayme it is to bring us to inevitable Miſery. Exerciſe then muſt be uſed, leſt our baine be procured.

Excellent Moralls.

The

The like Morall, without much enforcing, may be drawne from other creatures; and that with much propriety, in the Survey of Natures Hiſtory.

The *Crab-fiſh*, when as the *Oyſter* doth open her ſelfe, caſteth a ſtone into her ſhell; ſo as, being not able to ſhut herſelfe againe, ſhe becomes a prey unto the *Crabbe*. The Fathers apply this unto the Divell; when he findeth men gaping and idle, he caſteth into them ſome ſtone of Temptation, whereby he workes their over-throw. For the Sloathfull man is the Divels ſhop; there he works, ever buſie when men are lazie.

Many ſuch ſingular Motives may the piercing Eye of the Soule extract from the natures of theſe inferiour creatures: So as, though the very *Locuſt*, or *Graſſhopper* be but creatures of emptineſſe, they retaine in them many wonderful occult qualities. Nay, the very *Hedge-hog*, being a creature (to uſe the words of a Divine Father) not excluded from Gods providence, preſents herſelfe a ſingular Emblеme of pollicy and prevention, in her privacy and retirednеſſe. For this provident Creature hath two holes in his ſiege, one towards the South, an other towards the North. Now when the Southerne wind blowes, he ſtops up that hole, and turnes him Northward. Againe, when the Northerne wind blowes, he ſtoppes up that hole likewiſe, and turnes him againe Southward. Such *Vicbius*, ſtrict Criticiſme may terme *Temporizers*; who are onely for complying with Time, ſeldome or never cloſing with Truth; but equally

The meaneſt Creatures reteine in them many ſecret qualities.

equally affected Naturaliſts have rather aſcribed this to a provident Oeconomicall policy, than glozing flattery.

To ſet downe the ſeverall properties of all, or of moſt ſorts of Beaſts, would crave an ample Volume of it ſelfe: I will onely (as in my former diſcourſe) expreſſe the uſe of Naturall Hiſtories, and to what perſons moſt accommodate.

What Princes beſt affected theſe Studies.

We read of divers moſt famous Princes and Monarchs to have applyed their mindes to the ſearch of theſe Studies: *Alexander* (otherwiſe moſt potent in Armes, and ſole Commander of the World) addicted his minde to the ſcrutiny of theſe Rarities: as may appeare moſt manifeſtly by his Letter (at this day extant) to his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, containing the ſtrange proportions of Beaſts with their Natures, which during his *Indian* Warre, hee had obſerved: deſcribing the ſtrange and unheard-of qualities of the *Indian Aſpicks, Ceraſts*, and many other kinds of Serpents, continually infeſting his Army; profeſſing (as he himſelfe writeth) hee found more difficulty in diſcomfiting Beaſts, than ſubduing Men: for the one ſort aſſaulted him, when his Troopes were well diſpoſed, cheerefull, and full of alacrity: but the other invaded him by Night. *Ita ut ne in Caſtris quidem minimum oculi dolur.* Alwayes was this puiſſant Prince much given to ſee the naturall qualities of Beaſts, ſo as no Preſent could be more grateſull, or acceptable to him, than ſome ſtrangely-natured ſavage, making excellent uſe of this Theory, appropriated to the

the natures of Men: which upon all occaſions, (with ſingular delight) he uſed to apply unto his Nobles diſpoſition, which attended him.

Thoſe noble and couragious Dogs, which were ſent him by the Kings of *Albany*, much contented him: They would not ſtirre at ſmall beaſts, diſdaining them (as it were) in the over-flow of their courage, contemning any encounter but with Lyons, and Elephants. This Magnanimity could the valiant Emperour apply well enough to himſelfe: he ſaw his own nature delineated, or charactred (as it were) in their courage, Scorning to Triumph on the conquered, ſolacing him ever with this extreame, yet chearefull comfort: *Supereſt ſperare ſalutem.*

Couragious Dogges.

The like deſire of exploring the naturall properties of Beaſts, poſſeſſed *Sertorius*: One no leſſe provident, to ſhelter himſelfe in adverſity, then in all his actions continent, amidſt his proſperity; who, after his Regiment in *Spaine*, erected many places for the taming of wild Beaſts, delighting exceedingly to ſee the aptneſſe of ſome joyned with a certaine naturall flexibility, and the backwardneſſe of others, retaining over a certaine ſemblance of their firſt Nature, ſo deeply imprinted, as difficulty removed. Nay, what Stratagems uſed he (by his *White Hart*) to ſupport and governe the whole Fabricke of his declining Eſtate: Implying that by his Hinde, or Hart, he received inſtructions from *Diana*, which the people (with ſuch ſuperſtition) beleeved, that by his glory he conquered Envy, enlarging the

Natures of Beaſts.

Alba Cerva. Plutarch.

bounds of his Jurisdiction, and making his exile the Symbole of his renowne, till by the bloody conspiracy of *Perpenna* and *Antonius*, he was deprived both of Crowne and Life.

Demetrius a worthy Souldier, and one well meriting of his Countrey, was much inclined to this Study: So as at home, if at any time sequestred from his more serious Affaires, he conceived exceeding pleasure and delight in the portraying of those Beasts he had seene; Excellent hee was in the frame of any Similitude, but more divine in his owne; being of that exact forme, elegant constitution, and sweetly-mixt Complexion, *Vt à pictoribus, sculptoribusq; ei similis non potuerit effingi:* A rare Modell of Nature, when (by Nature) he was imparraleld.

Natures of Plants.

Alcibyades, no lesse deserving, yet worse censured, was well expetimented in the Natures of Beasts, but more in Plants: having an Hearb, even to this day (amongst our Apothecaries) called after his Name, *Alcybiadon*, or the Wilde Bugloss.

Natures of Mines. *Plutarch & Suet.*

And for Metrals, Minerals, or the like. None more accommodated to such Studies than that Soveraigne of *Roman* Hearts, *Augustus*, hearing his *Lapidary Dioscorides* with especiall delight: So as in time he was not onely able to distinguish of any Stone, but to describe their Natures: Using likewise the Art of Alchemy, more expert in their recalcinations (saith the *Roman* Historian) than the best Professours of that Time; and consequently I may conclude than the grosse

groſſe *Quacke-ſalvers* of our Time.

You ſee it is no diſparagement for the Generous or Heroick Spirit to be Studied in theſe Notions: ſince the peereleſſe for Valour and true Reſolution, have dedicated themſelves unto them: yet would I not have them ſo beſotted, or be wedded to theſe ſtudies, as to forget more important intendments: I confeſſe theſe are rather to make a man compleat, than exactly neceſſary, and a ſuperficiall knowledge is ſufficient for Learning of this Nature: And well doe I approve of that Ornament of Learning (the beſt Luſtre to the Schoole of Arts) where hee would rather have a Gentleman ſuperficially ſeene in all, than profoundly learned in one: Too much retyring to theſe Studies, accord not with Gravity or State, but to diſcourſe (by way of Reaſon) without Sophiſticall argumenting, well beſeemes the moſt Generous mindes.

Expedient, not neceſſary.

Sr. *F. B.*

It is an happy thing to keepe a meane in Wiſdome; not to ſtrive (in an over-flow of Underſtanding) to out-ſtrip Nature in the inveſtigation or ſearch of Naturall things: A little will ſerve us in indifferent things, and more it reliſheth of Diſcretion, to know when wee have enough; than, with an unbounded will of affecting knowledge, ſuperſtitiouſly to know more than Nature hath preſcribed.

This exceſſe in deſire of knowing, hath beene a contagion, that hath infected and poiſoned the matureſt Studies: eſpecially in things ſo impertinent, as when the pitch of that they expected

was attained; Their knowledge conduced no more to the profit of the Repub. than if with *Endymion*, they had ſlept their time, and paſſed their life over in a fruitleſſe ſilence. It pleaſeth the Orator to tearme ſuch a Study— *Inutilis mentis agitatio*: Sayling in the troubled ſtreame, where a more cleare and calme paſſage doth ſhew her ſelfe. Thus I approve in theſe Naturall Diſcourſes, a ſuperficiall Diſcurſive Knowledge, to exclude Ignorance, but no ſuch affective height, leſt in ſo exquiſite a ſearch of Nature, wee ſhould ſhew our ſelves Naturals. We ſay, the Generous ſhould be but *Mediocriter doctus*: I need not inſiſt upon the perſwaſion; wee have too many of *Iuvenals* painted blocks in the way of Learning, that never meane to come nearer. So as I may anſwer, as an *Athenian* reaſoned, what the cauſe ſhould be why there was ſuch an ebbe of good Wits in *Athens*? "Becauſe (ſaith he) they runne "into the Sub-urbs, and dwell with *Lais*.

——Hinc ir cly-ta nomine trun-cus exhibuit——

The beſt and ripeſt Wits are moſt ſubject to corrupting, concording well with the native depravation of theſe Times, where *Medea's* Rule is made an Axiome, every one with *Lincius* ſeeing the beſt, but with blind *Baiard*, deprived of the Eye of their Election.

Too much of them; our Treatiſe requires a better Subject, than ſuch ſtaines to their Countries fame, and priſtine honour, making her complaine, as *Rome* did in time of old: *Eone vos produxi? &c.* Is this the fruit of my long Labour, the freight of my race, and the reward of my Motherly

Eone materna cura ſe provexit!

therly love, to bring you up, and then (like Vipers) to ſting me that hath nouriſhed you? Well then, my bleſſings muſt be turned of neceſſity unto execrations: and that Breaſt, which firſt nouriſhed you with the Milke of comfort, muſt be the very Sepulchre to interre you that buried my honour.

Thus did *Rome* hollow out her complaint againſt her ill-nurtured iſſue; and no leſſe cauſe *Albion* againſt her undiſciplined race, that ſeeme as if they were, —— *Fruges conſumere nati.*

And here I might preferre a juſt complaint againſt ſuch, who conſume the Oyle of their Life, in frequenting *Looſe places*: and apply ſome choice ſoveraigne Receipts, to rectifie this; to the end (than which no end more glorious) their owne Families may become private *Academies*. Which I ſhall the rather labour, in regard, that the regulating of our ſelves to that forme, may highly conduce both to our own & Gods honor.

A juſt complaint againſt ſuch, who conſume the Oyle of their Life, in frequenting *Looſe places*: how to rectify this, that their owne Families may become private Academies.

How careſull the *Romans* were in their ceſſation from armes, to educate their youth in action, leſt too much remiſſeneſſe might beget in them an effeminacy of manners; and ſo in time diſable them for perſonall employments eyther at home or abroad, may ſufficiently appeare by all thoſe ancient Annals recommended from age to age, even to theſe our times. Whence it came, (as I have elſe where noted upon like occaſion) that there was publiſhed an antient Edict amongſt the *Romans*, as is recorded by *Cicero* in his Booke of Lawes, that no *Roman*

ſhould go through the ſtreet of the City, unleſſe he carried with him the badge or cognizance of that Trade whereby he lived: Inſomuch as, that good Emperour *Marc. Aurelius* ſpeaking of the dilligence of the *Romans*, writeth, *That all of them followed their labour.* An excellent commendation in a civill State; to baniſh that, by which the beſt States through a long continued peace, or affluence of wealth, have not only bin impeached and impaired, but rooted out and utterly razed.

Idleneſſe maketh of Men women, of women beaſts, of beaſts Monſters. I would have then theſe Patrons of Idleneſſe (who conſume the precious lampe of their life in a licentious liberty) uſed, as *Zeno* uſed his ſervant *Bruſon*, who being taken with Theft, and alledging for himſelfe, that it was his deſtiny to ſteale; his Maiſter anſwered, and thy deſtiny to be beaten.

It is the depraved nature of Man, to mould himſelfe ever after *Medeas* rule; *to ſee the beſt, but to follow the worſt*; nay, to make the worſt uſe of that which in its owne nature is the beſt. For what more precious then the *palmes* of *Peace*? Yet, what is it that ſooner corrupts the freeſt State? For what is the progeny that a Calme time brings forth (all which implies the viciouſneſſe of our nature) but a *Prodigall* and an *Vſurer*? Where the one ingageth his ſtate for backe and belly; the other quite contrary, ſtands indebted both to back and belly. The one playes at Ducks and Drakes with pieces, till hee muſt fiſh for more

A tempeſtuous Progeny in a calme time.

more when all his eſtate is falne in peeces; The other hoords up for his ſeldome thriving Heire; who meanes, as his father was the firſt, to make himſelfe the laſt of his Houſe.

That Maxim is true; Health commeth not from the Clouds without ſeeking, nor Wealth from the clods without digging: yet, as there is required a *providence* in the one; ſo ſhould there be a *conſcience* in the other. *Lycurgus* baniſhed this Uſury (the canker-worme of all civill Society) out of *Sparta*; *Amaſis* puniſhed it ſeverely in *Ægypt*; *Cato* baniſhed it out of *Sicilia*: and *Solon* in *Athens*. How much more ſhould it be holden in deteſtation amongſt Chriſtians? And for the other, who ſo hee may be ſtyled a *Young Maſter*, will not ſtick to impawne the *Long Acre*, till hee become like a Snake who h'as caſten his ſlough; a ſqueazed ſwad without either Meanes, Manners, or Manner: I could wiſh that he tooke his Spunge by the hand, and tooke leave of this Iland together, till ayre had changed their condition, or Grace the quality of their Temper. As ſometimes that worlds Monarch uſed two of his Court Paraſites, injoyning the one to flye, and the other to follow him with a whip, till they were both gone out of his Kingdome, and ſo his Court was rid of both.

Fœnus pecunia, Funus animæ. Qui te prohibet fœnorari, ipſe te jubet fœnorari.

And to make up a leaſe in this vicious trace; it were not far amiſſe for the State, that ſuch, who by petitionary wayes work their owne ends; and, as if they were preſenters of petitions by Patrent, make it their moſt commodious Trade, to de-

Heare this yee Pattenters, & petitionary Projectors.

lude

lude the poore Supplicants truſt: and to maintayne their profuſe courſe, feed their languiſhing Clyents with unprofitable delayes, taſted of the whip aſwell as theſe. So that, as *Alex. Severus* (a great enemy to ſuch Impoſtors) cauſed his corrupt Courtier *Turinus* in the open Market to be faſtned to a ſtake and ſtifled with ſmoake; while the Cryer thus cryed to the people, "*Let him periſh by ſmoake, who ſold ſmoake.*" I could wiſh that ſuch as theſe be (if any ſuch there be) might receive the like cenſure, according to the height or meaſure of their diſtemper. For theſe, like Brokers of old-ſtuffe, or Barterers of contemptible ware, make ſale of that which is not vendible. Or like thoſe *Aſian* Knights, make breach of credit to diſcharge their credit: who, though they have no other vocation but boldnes and inſinuation; yet by theſe injurious wayes, beare themſelves in the World as if they were perſons of quality and faſhion.

Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit.

But to proceed in our Diſcourſe: Hiſtories of this Nature, are very needefull for profeſſors of Phyſicke: for how ſhould they conceive the true Art of compoſition, if the ſimples whereof the compounds are made, and their vertues, be not perfectly knowne unto them? *Braſevolus, de examine herbarum*, exemplifies this Diſcourſe more fully; I will referre them to that place, not entertayning that Subject which is but ſuperficially traduced to me; and I have alwayes made that obſervance (in way of Axiome) to all my Readings, which *Silvius* in his Booke, *De Simplicib. Medi-*

Medicament, injoyneth himſelfe: What Art ſoever a Man knoweth, let him only exerciſe and uſe it: For otherwiſe he ſhall but deſcry his owne Ignorance, as I have noted in ſome: *Quos cum neſcire piguit, mentiri non pigebat.* An odious ſcandall to a generous-minded Scholler, to write that which he is ignorant of himſelfe; Leſſe aſhamed to lye, then to be defective in Knowledge. But eſpecially, ſome we have of this ſort, that lye upon their Knowledge: Some (as in *Traians* fabling Age) write Arts of Horſemanſhip, that never rode otherwiſe then *Ageſilaus* with his Children on Cocke-horſe. Others can exactly preſcribe Times for Planting, Sowing, Reaping, and the like, playing the good Husband-man (I pray you *marke him*) that never read *Virgils Bucolicks*: Theſe are uſurping wits, preſuming on the affable cenſures of theſe depraved times. Ignorance can Apologize herſelfe: for what Writer now a dayes weares not that Livery?

To our Hiſtory: Theſe naturall Diſcourſes of the qualities of Beaſts, Birds, Serpents, and other Creatures, be likewiſe eſpecially needefull for Divines: They may amply dilate upon the admirable Workes of their Creator, by the Survey of his Creatures. For even all Birds and Beaſts (if exactly conſidered) ſhew the infinite power of the Almighty; not onely in Creating, but in infuſing ſuch diverſly-affected natures and diſpoſitions in them. The witty Emblematiſt alſo draines his pretty inventions from theſe reſemblances; portraying the Creature, and annexing

Emblemes of Birds.

The contemplation of the Creature miniſters admiration in us toward our Creator.

nexing his device to the Portray.

Nay, they are very motive perſwaſions to the acknowledging of our owne weakneſſe and infirmity: ſpurres to thankfulneſſe, as that excellent Emblem, where a *Larke* was pearched, with theſe Verſes:

Vid. Sambucum & Alciat.

Cantat Alauda Deo laudes gratiſſima ſummo,
Hinc nos ingratos grata lateſcit avis.

Engliſhed thus.

The early Larke her gratefull minde diſplayes,
Deſcanting Morne by Morne her Makers praiſe:
Whence ſhe doth taxe ſuch as unthankfull be,
That have more cauſe, yet give leſſe thanks than ſhe.

We have many ſuch witty Emblemes, well befitting the moſt Chriſtian underſtanding to contemplate; drawing the inſcrutable Wiſdome of God from the Excellency of his Creatures: the divers formes whereof generally varying, their different Natures in few things concurring, and their continuance ſo mainly diſcording, may miniſter to the greateſt Atheiſt, no leſſe cauſe of Admiration, than cauſe of Execration of his irreligious and damnable Opinion.

The very Atheiſt condemned by Birds oth' Ayre: and how their Melody is ever mounting with aery wings to that *Supreme Majeſty.*

Nor can there be any Arguments more forcing than theſe, to bring a miſ-beleever to the acknowledgment of his Maker. So as, the very Atheiſt, if he would ſuffer himſelfe to be evinced by Reaſon, could not chuſe but veile, and ingenuouſly hold himſelfe condemned by Birds oth' Aire: Whoſe melody is ever mounting with airy Wings to that *Supreme Majeſty.* Upon which

which conſideration, would hee but reflect on himſelfe, he ſhould ſoone finde, how miſerable it is for man to be ſilent in Gods praiſe, when *Birds* become heavenly Quiriſters in ſending forth ſweet ayres.

How miſerable it is, for man to be ſilent in Gods praiſe, when Birds become heavenly Quiriſters in ſending forth ſweet Ayres.

I cannot chuſe but wonder at *Democritus*, who was of ſuch various, nay, Omnifarious reading, as there was nothing in the whole frame or Workmanſhip of * *Nature*, wherein he did not ſhew himſelfe a Writer. That Hee, who knew the Natures, differences of all Beaſts, Plants, Fiſhes, Birds; and as ſome ſay, could underſtand the Tunes and Voyces of them, ſhould ſo miſerably erre in that, which hee ſhould principally know. For if theſe *Viſible Creatures* be Laymens Bookes; wherein they may finde matter enough to magnify the Power, Wiſdome and Providence of God; much more thoſe, who are Vers'd in Bookes, and are enabled to conferre Contemplation with Reading, merit high reproofe: who ſeeing what they may worthily admire; and that the Maker of them is Hee, to whom they are onely to adhere; are neither wonne by the One nor Other, to acknowledge the ſole Omnipotency of their Creator.

* *Nihil in toto Opificio Naturæ, de quo non ſcripſit.*

It is ſaid of the *Quaile*, being the very ſame Bird which was the *Iſraëlites* Meate in the Wilderneſſe, that as hee flyes over the Sea, feeling himſelfe to begin to be weary, he lights by the way into the Sea. Then lying at one ſide, hee layes downe one Wing upon the Water, and holds up the other Wing towards Heaven. Leſt

hee ſhould preſume to take too long a flight at the firſt, he wets one wing. Leſt hee ſhould deſpaire of taking a new flight afterwards, he keeps the other wing dry.

The Morall is divine, though the Story be naturall and humane. *Oculus ad Cœlum, manus ad Clavum.* The Courſe of our perillous Navigation in this our Sea-fare, toucheth upon two dangerous Shelves; ſuch as threaten more inevitable ruine to the unwary Navigator, than thoſe two *Sicilian* Gulfes, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*. Where *Preſumption*, upon the confidence of her owne ſtrength, falls by a precipitate Courſe into the depth of all miſery: and *deſpaire*, through too much diffidence, lyes miſerably groveling, neither ſeeking nor hoping for Remedy. The flight of the former is either ſhort, or none at all; becauſe *Preſumption* makes her thinke it needleſſe to fly for that of which ſhee is already ſeaz'd: and *Deſpaire*, like heavy cheſſes, retardates her flight, ſuggeſting to her that it is needleſſe to fly for that whereof ſhee can never poſſibly be ſeas'd.

Oris Apollo writeth, that the *Ægyptians* (amongſt many other profound Hieroglyphicks) when they would deſcribe the *Heart*, paint that Bird, which they call *Ibis*: becauſe they thinke no Creature, for proportion of the body, hath ſo great an Heart as the *Ibis* hath. If the Pagans made ſuch ſingular uſe in their diſſection of Birds; as they ever reduced whatſoever they read, or had ſeene in

that

that kinde, to ſome excellent end: Much more wee, who know better the uſe of theſe Creatures, and to what proper end they were firſt ordained; not in Wantonneſſe to abuſe them, as thoſe looſe Imperialliſts did, who affected nothing more then Rarity; nor deſired ought more, then to ſurfeit in their Exceſſe and ſuperfluity. Neyther in a Superſtitious uſe of them; as the Pagans did, who attributed their good or bad fortune to ſuch Birds, as were eyther Auſpicious or Ominous: promiſing themſelves ſucceſſe according to their flight; or inſpection of their Intrals after death.

Creatures ordayned to Sobriety and uſefull Morality.

In the time of *Auguſtus*, an Eagle hovering over the Heads of ſuch *Patricians*, as were then in Conſultation; at laſt ſetled upon the name of *Agrippa*, and juſt upon the firſt Letter of that name *A* —— A Lightning likewiſe deſcending downe from Heaven, ſtroke the firſt Letter of his owne name out, — *C* —. Whence South-ſayers, by conjecturall Arguments, or Revelations from their Oracles, gathered, that Hee ſhould but live an hundred dayes after, and be afterwards Cannonized for a God: becauſe *Æſar*, the reſidue of that Name in the *Tuſcane* Language ſignified *God*.

Albeit, ſome even amongſt themſelves, ſleighted their Auguries, as might be inſtanced in *Claudius Pulcher*; who, when in taking his *Auſpicia*, or the predictious of his ſucceſſe by the inſpections of Birds, before *Sicilie*, the

Pullets would not feed, hee commanded they ſhould be plunged in the Sea, that they might drinke, ſeeing they would not eate. The like did *Craſſus*, who being willed by the *Arabian* Guides, at ſuch time as he was Marching within the *Perſian* Frontiers, to make haſte before the Moone was in *Scorpio*; "but I (ſaid he) feare more *Sa-*"*gittary*, meaning the Archers of *Perſia*.

But there is nothing in my Opinion, that ſhould worke more powerfull effects, or beget in men more virile ſhame, than to ſee them outſtript by Creatures of this kind, even in arguments of Naturall Affection and Humanity.

Baſil. Homil. 8. & 9. It is a notable Obſervation, which a Divine Father ſometimes culled from a Naturall Hiſtorian: When the old Storke through Age becomes naked of Feathers, ſhee is fed by her Brood, and carryed by them from place to place upon their Wings.

This might worthily ſtrike a glowing ſhame in the breaſts of all ſuch unnaturall Children, who neglect their duties to their aged Parents; bringing their grey-haires with ſorrow to their Graves. For how ſhould theſe in an equall proportion requite them from whom they had their being and breeding; admit they ſhould for their reliefe, conferre all their Fortunes and livelyhood upon them?

Quamvis plurima illis reddidimus, rurſus tamen eos generare non poſſumus. Cyril.

What ſhould I ſay likewiſe of unnaturall Mothers; who ſcorne to impart their owne Breaſts to their owne Babes? Can theſe ſee the *Cunea* with her attendants following, and nurſing care hatch-

hatching the *Cuckowes* egges, and not bluſh at themſelves? Have they naked breaſts to beſtow on the ayre, or allure a wandring eye, and muſt their owne be deprived of that liberty?

Many ſuch Morall Motives as theſe, ſpeake to us in the natures of Birds: but I muſt not dwell on theſe; but haſten in this my *Hiſtorical Survey*, to the native diſcovery of other Creatures.

The diſtinct Natures of Beaſts expreſſed.

Here the *Hyene* (as *Pliny* relates) can imitate the voice of any Man, and that ſo neerely, as his voyce can hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the voyce of him he imitateth; taking his denomination from the *Greekes*, according to his naturall rapine.

There the *Fiber*, or *Bever* (by what inſtinct, Humane wiſdome could never reach to) to ſatisfie his covetous purſuer, bites off his own ſtones, being the prize (he knowes) for which he is purſued.

Here ſee the diſſembling *Sphinx*, able to perſonate any paſſion, eyther of joy or ſorrow. There the wonderfull nature of the *Rhynoceros*: The *Lyon* ſo naturally valiant, as not to be daunted; yet behold the ſilly *Cocke* can make him tremble! Then repreſent to your generous reading, the naturall enmity betwixt the *Horſe* and the *Beare*, the *Wolfe* and the *Lyon*, the *Fox* and the *Badger*; ſuch a native diſagreeing remaines among theſe Beaſts, as their hatred is implacable; ever purſuing their enemy with an inveterate hate: for an enmity ingrafted by nature, cannot be ſuppreſſed by leſſe then nature.

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Here ſee the diſſembling *Sphinx*, able to perſonate any paſſion, eyther of joy or ſorrow. There the wonderfull nature of the *Rhynoceros*: The *Lyon* ſo naturally valiant, as not to be daunted; yet behold the ſilly *Cocke* can make him tremble! Then repreſent to your generous reading, the naturall enmity betwixt the *Horſe* and the *Beare*, the *Wolfe* and the *Lyon*, the *Fox* and the *Badger*; ſuch a native diſagreeing remaines among theſe Beaſts, as their hatred is implacable; ever purſuing their enemy with an inveterate hate: for an enmity ingrafted by nature, cannot be ſuppreſſed by leſſe then nature.

Many

Many conflicts were inſtituted in *Rome* (at ſolemnization of any Feſtivall, or in remembrance of ſome memorable Exploit atchieved) betwixt Beaſts: whence the *Romans* gathered great knowledge, ſeeing the remiſſneſſe of ſome Natures, and the eagerneſſe of others. Some of an unquailed ſpirit, yet in ſtrength unable to maintaine their ſpirit: others (like our unweldy Epicures) ſinewy and fleſhy enough, have ſtrength at will, but defect of courage ſo curbes them, as the over-flow of ability waines in the riſing; not daring to encounter with one of leſſe ſtrength, but more vivacity.

Vide Lucium Flor. in 1. lib. de Sab. Bell & poſtea de bello Tarent. Cap. 18.

When *Fabius Maximus* went in Embaſſage to *Pyrrhus*, Prince of *Epyre*, with whom (at that time) the *Romans* had Warre: hee denounced open Hoſtility againſt him and his Territories, for not performing ſome conditions included in the League. *Pyrrhus*, to terrifie *Fabius*, commanded his Guard to place an Elephant behind the Arras, that at their next parley, *Fabius* ſeeing ſo terrible a Beaſt, might of his owne accord ſolicite Peace. But *Fabius* (though one at that time unacquainted with ſuch ſights, for never were any *Elephants* then ſeene in *Rome*) hearing him ſend out his hollow voice, replyed: *The ſound of a* Roman Ramme *will be more terrible than the voyce of an* Epyrian Elephant. But theſe grew afterward to publick Spectacles: ſo as in any Triumph of ſome victorious, or puiſſant Captaine, there were many *Elephants*, *Ounces*, *Panthers*, *Tygers*, and other ſavage Beaſts ſlaine, offering them

Thoſe Times were not known to that *unfrier-like* Inventiõ of murd'ring Ordnance: "*The Crane, the Graſping-hooke and butting Ramme* "*Were their ſole Engines when firſt* wars *began.*

them (in Triumphant manner) to the Temple of the Goddeſſe *Victoria*.

Varro, a *Roman* Peere, one to whom the *Romane* Tongue was much indebted, did illuſtrate the Annals of *Rome* with their Ceremoniall Triumphs; ſhewing alſo what Beaſts were wont to be ſacrificed to the Gods, and for what cauſe that Inſtitution was obſerved; If the Victory (ſayth he) was purchaſed with the loſſe of blood, they uſed to ſacrifice to *Mars*, a *Cocke*; but if without blood, they offered an *Oxe*.

Si multo ſanguine victoriam obtinuiſſent, Gallum: ſi abſque ſanguine, Bovem Marti immolarent. &c.

Theſe naturall Deſcriptions of Beaſts are very delightfull to the generous Reader; they are very fit for illuſtrating any Subject; making compariſon betwixt the Natures of Beaſts, Birds, or Plants, and other materiall ſubjects of our Diſcourſe; comparing Luſt, Inceſt, and ſuch laſcivious exorbitances to the *Lapwing*, repreſented by *Tereus*, the Raviſher of *Philomel*: Inferring by the *Spider*, Arrogancy, or Pride, that durſt compare with *Pallas* for preëminency. By the *Cormorant*, grating Oppreſſion, ſenceleſſe and remorceleſſe of others Miſeries. *Progne* (in a *Swallowes* habit) implying the ſwiftneſſe of revenge to Murder.

That chaſte Bird *Porphyrio*, who, as he is conſtant in his choice, ſo if hee ſee his love abuſed, his neſt defiled, he dyes through griefe; as one impatient of ſuch diſgrace. Hee is ſayd likewiſe to bite the Water, implying, that as hee is pure of himſelfe, ſo hee cannot endure to partake of thoſe ſtreames, which

are troubled or ſoyled with any brackiſh diſtemper.

He proceeds in applying the Natures of ſeverall other Birds, to the ſundry different qualities, or corruptions rather, in man.

We read how *Phineus* that impious *Arcadian* Prince, having by the perſwaſion of his ſecond wife *Idæa*, put out his Childrens eyes, which he had by his firſt wife *Cleopatra*, was for this unnaturall fact plagued of the *Harpyes*: three monſtrous and ravenous Birds, *Ælo*, *Ocypete*, and *Celano*, having Maiden viſages. Long time was this unhappy King annoyed, what way ſoever he Travailed: Sea could not ſecure him, nor Land priviledge him. At his repaſt, his ſtomack was made queaſie by their ſtench: and on the night time, by reaſon of their noiſe, was he reft of reſt: In which ſtory, ſundry excellent Morals are daintily couched. Firſt, how the very *Ethnicke* Poëts could invent puniſhments for haynous delinquents. *O quàm meritò divina occurrit ultio cuiuſque peccati proprio obiecto!* A commanding Prince, if conſcious of blood, cannot find himſelfe a ſhroud. No ſhelter againſt Murder. Flie he to the Sea, the very waves raiſed by the fury of the winds, will be his remembrancers, retire he to the Land, the very Creatures will have him in purſuite, till they become his Surprizers. From his Houſe he flyes unto the field, but Furies dogge him ſtill: no Covert in field can reſcue him from his Fate.

By the *Harpyes*, may be underſtood, that there is no Creature, but the *Supreame power*, if Hee pleaſe, can make it his Avenger. But theſe kind of Birds were by the Poëts moſt properly deviſed

ſed to be purſuers of this bloody Prince. Their ravenous Nature agreed beſt with his temper. For as their Condition is to prey upon their owne; ſo did hee in his cruelty ſeaze upon his owne: And as the Eye is the firſt part which any ravenous Bird uſeth to pick at: ſo it was the Eyes of theſe Orphan-children which their Step-dame *Idea* aym'd at. Now, whereas theſe Birds are portrayed with Maiden-viſages, we may by that ſafely conclude, *Frontis nulla fides* —: Amiable Features may have ſavage Natures. Thoſe *Sirens* had beautifull Faces, cheerefull Voyces, but dangerous Greetings. There is more belonging to a ſincere heart than a promiſing preſence. As the ſtilleſt Waters are the deepeſt; ſo faireſt Faces wound the deadlieſt. They are apt to allure; and happy is that wife *Ithacus*, that can ſtop his Eye and Eare.

Theſe came to *Phineus* Table like beauteous Gueſts, but purſu'd him like hideous Ghoſts. Beauty is a taking baite, it can cover Treaſon with a ſmile; but being ſwallowed, it becomes the Takers baine. But now ſee how this calamitous Prince receives reliefe, when his miſeries crowded thickeſt: and how theſe intruſive Gueſts are expulſed, when his hopes were in deſpaire, and from expectance of reliefe remoteſt!

Calais, that valiant Sonne of *Boreas* by *Orithia*, who with *Zethes* having Wings, to accelerate their journey, flew to *Colchis* to helpe the *Argonauts*: and being in that voyage courteouſly uſed of King *Phineus*, they in recompence drave

out of his Countrey thoſe ravening Birds called *Harpyes*.

Nor wants this Comicall paſſage his Morall: for hence may we gather, what benefit redounds to ſuch as are hoſpitable. How thoſe, whom they ſometimes harboured for Strangers, become in time of danger their deliverers. This might be confirmed by Holy Writ; where Angels were received in habit of Strangers: and what ſuccour they miniſtred to their Harbourers.

Such as theſe uſefully applyed, will afford infinite profit to the Reader: ſo as, hee may delightfully enlarge himſelfe by way of Diſcourſe to any intelligible Hearer.

There be other Birds, who reteine in them an ancient naturall hatred to Beaſts, from whom they conceive themſelves to have received wrong; and this their hatred is implacable even to death.

Pleaſant Poëticall Fictions of the Enmity of Birds.

The *Cowſhot* or *Stock-dove* cannot endure the *Heyfer* for that old injury ſhee ſuffered before ſhe chang'd her Neſt: ſo as now with an inſulting jeere, which ſhe ſtill redoubles in her Note, ſhee ſeemingly challengeth her to come unto her: being confident that her Seate is mounted farre above her hate; ſo as, ſhee may now ſecurely domineere, when her airy Neſt pleads priviledge againſt all feare.

Ægithus, in proportion a little Bird, yet of a ſtrong and ſtout ſpirit; being at deadly hatred with the Aſſe; for that hee deſtroyeth her Neſt, which for the moſt part ſhee builds among the

Thiſtles:

Thiſtles: in revenge whereof, ſhee continually vexeth him (ſo apprehenſive is the leaſt Creature of an injury, and ſo quicke-ſighted in conceiving where ſhee may requite her injury) by pecking him on gall'd places of his body.

This Morall may ſeeme to glance at ſuch ignoble ſpirits, who, ſo they may revenge, or expreſſe the heate of their fury; will not ſticke to exerciſe it upon the pooreſt and contemptibleſt Creatures: yea, they will pick an offence before it be offered: and play upon their ſimplicity, by whom they were never much injuried. Theſe will ever leape over the hedge where it is loweſt, and make ſuch the prey of their fury, whom they finde moſt incapable of revenge, or unable to ſecond what their reputation injoynes them to attempt. The like may be ſaid of the *Apiaſter* or *Mudwall*; a Bird that beares inveterate hate to the painefull *Bee*, and her Labours. In whoſe Nature the quality of ſuch perſons is covertly ſhadowed: who, *Margites*-like, doe no good themſelves, but in a profuſe Riot conſume their fruitleſſe Dayes, feeding their Surfeits with others imployments.

In many Frontier-bordering Townes wee ſhall ſee this made good by wofull experience. While ſuch induſtrious people, who, to uſe the words of Sententious *Saluſt*, *Sedem Animæ in extremis digitis habent*; placing their Soules in their Fingers ends, become

a booty to the violence and incurſion of their Neighbouring Drones; who ſeaze with ſtrong hand (under pretence of an unſetled peace or expired League) upon whatſoever their induſtrious courſe of living had for divers yeeres deſervingly gained and gathered.

There is another ſweet-ſented Bird, called the *Cinnamolge*; one who will build her Neſt in no other Wood than *Cinnamon*. Her onely ambition is a dainty Seat; very ſingular in her conſort with other Birds; pleaſing to few but to herſelfe: and if at any time ſhee deagne the Forreſt that grace as to partake of her melody, Nightingal-like *Dat ſine mente ſonum* ——

A ſweet-ſented Courtier properly reſembled.

A neare Reſemblance (as if ſprung from one Stemme) may this ſweet-breath'd Bird ſeeme to have to our Court-Popinjay; whoſe *ſenſe* moſt commonly conſiſts in *ſent*. His Action or Geſture is nothing but Cringes; his Breath an Ayry Complement; his Rinde (to make this Cinnamon-Similitude more full) worth all his body beſide.

When *Iupiter* and *Iuno's* Wedding was ſolemnized of old, to make the Solemnity more compleat; the Gods were all invited to the Feaſt, and many Noble-men beſides. Amongſt the reſt came *Cryſalus* a *Perſian* Prince, bravely attended, rarely accoutred, rich in Golden Attires, in gay Robes, with a Majeſticall Preſence, a formall poſture, a portly Encounter, but otherwiſe an Aſſe. The Gods ſeeing him come in ſuch pompe and ſtate, roſe up to give him

him place, *Ex habitu hominem metientes*; But *Iupiter* perceiving what hee was, a light, phantaſtick, idle fellow, turned him and his proud followers into Butterflies: And ſo they continue ſtill (for ought I know to the contrary, if the Fiction hold with Verity) roving about in pied Coats, and are called *Chryſalides* by the wiſer ſort of men; that is, Golden out-ſides, Drones, Flies, and things of no worth. For the truth of the Fable, we will not ſtand much on it; but what the Poets intended by theſe Transformations, may be eaſily gathered.

What the Poets intended by theſe Tranſformations.

Theſe Silken Gulls, who are onely to be valued by what they *weare*, not what they *are*, in this very Morall receive their Cenſure. They preaſe into the higheſt places; converſe with Eminent'ſt perſons; thruſt themſelves upon greateſt buſineſſe: but fall off ſtill with ſome palpable diſgrace to themſelves.

They are not *intus ſimbriati*, and therefore muſt be *Deorum conſiliis ablegati*. Thoſe who had no Sage in their Pates, were not held fit to be at Councell-Table with the Gods.

There is another Morall too which ariſeth naturally from that Cinnamon-neſted Bird; and without much Criticiſme might be applyed to a Pen-feathred Citizen, who having now (as hee thinks) ſufficient wealth, h'as ſhut up Shop, and bid adue to his Trade. And as one who had taken a ſurfeit of the City, h'as built himſelfe a new *Fiſhers folly* in the Countrey. Nothing but Perſpective Glaſſe, Porphyrite Pillars, *Thracian* Touch,

A Countrey-ſeated Citizen properly Reſembled.

Touch, and *Arabian* perfumes in every roome. Nothing but Beauty reflects in every corner, except the face of the Owner. Oh, how hee is taken with the delight of his Seate! The exquisite device of his Building! His *None-such* must be admired by such as see it, or hee holds himselfe infinitely wronged. So hee may have his Dwelling-house neately trimmed, and the house of his Body curiously cockred, he thinks nothing can goe amisse, all things are well ordered.

Petrarch. de Remed. utriusque fort.

Meane-time, hee little remembers *Petrarchs* Counsell; who adviseth him "not to be affraid, "though the House of his Body be shaken, so "his Soule, the Guest of his Body, fare well.

Many other excellent Moralls might be from this onely Bird extracted, but brevity, the best helpe to memory, makes me omit them.

The constant Love, and amicable League of Birds amongst themselves.

I could here inlarge my Discourse in relating the wonderfull Concord of divers Birds among themselves; as the constant League or Amity of *Crowes*, who are ever observed to take one part; the naturall love of *Stares*: and generally, how Birds of one feather flock together, and are ready to doe mutuall offices one to another. But our Naturall Historians, who have amply writt of this Subject, can sufficiently supply the Reader in this way; to whom I referre them. I will onely here resolve one question which may be demanded, and it is this: What should the reason be, why all Birds by an in-bred hate pursue the Hawke; and though they cannot annoy him, yet

yet will they flicker about him; deſiring nothing more, if their powers were to their wills, than to ſurprize him? But the Poët h'as a reply ready in the perſons of thoſe Birds, which may fully aſſoile this queſtion:

Why Birds of Rapine are moſt hated.

Wee hate the Hauke, *becauſe of all that are*
Expos'd to prey, hee ever lives in warre.

Odimus Accipitrem, quia ſemper vivit in armis.

For the *Owle* or *Batte*, or all ſuch Night-birds, why they are ſo had in purſuit, if it chance they come abroad upon day-time, this reaſon may be given. As they are unſociable and eſtrange themſelves from their company, having onely the priviledge of night, and the Ivy or ſome other retired ſhrowd for their Sanctuary; ſo they are hooted at by other Birds for their ſingularity, or for their neglect of civill Society.

Why Night-Birds are had in purſuite.

In the Beaſts of the Forreſt this may likewiſe be obſerved: the *Lyon* (a fierce beaſt) of an Heroïcke Nature, contemning the dejected ones, nor caring to feed on Carrion. Hee is of a Majeſticke diſpoſition, and hates to be ungratefull for the leaſt benefits received: If the Mouſe rid him of baſe ſervitude, he will finde time to requite her love one way or other. This may repreſent the perſon of a King (for indeede hee is the King of Beaſts) who ſcornes to triumph over the ſubjected, but to tyranniſe over the proud.

The *Elephant* reſembles a man preſt downe with honour; being once downe, he cannot riſe:

Reſemblances in Beaſts.

he is like ſome great man, who puffed up with the proſperous gales of his fortunes, can finde no knees of allegiance, or ſubmiſſion to either Prince or State; his joynts are inflexible, and the load of his honour inſupportable: once downe, impoſſible to riſe, but by ſome un-uſuall occurrent.

What ſtrange effects of Nature this creature reteineth, may be inſtanced in this notable ſtory. It is reported by *Philippo Pigafetta*, a Traveller of approved credit, that hee had ſeene with his owne eyes a very ſtrange and admirable thing in *Coanza*, namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of thoſe Pit-falls, purpoſely made by Hunters, to ſurpriſe them: and after ſhe could not with all her ſkill and ſtrength draw him out of it, ſhe buried him therein, and covered him with earth, with branches, and with bowes, inſomuch as ſhe filled the Pit up to the top, to the end that the Hunters ſhould not enjoy her Calfe; chooſing rather to kill it her ſelfe (with this affectionate kind of interment) than to leave it to the mercy of the cruell Huntſ-men.

The *Wolfe* (a State-gormandizer) preyes upon the innocent, ſuckes the blood of the Orphane, impaires others meanes to enlarge his owne: cruelty is the habiliment he beſt liketh, making the State a wilde Forreſt for every Savage to live in, but a Shambles for the poore ſilly Lambkin to ſuffer in.

The *Goate*, your wanton and ſenſuall Amoriſt, that

that ſkips here and there, in every brake of vanity, till ſo entwined, as the ſale of his reputation makes him beg for a good name: but the eyes of Generall Obſervance are not ſo dazelled, they have ſeene his heart, and regiſtred his follies.

Viſus tanquam Orſus.

The *Beare*, one that portends by his Birth, what he will be: an unhandſome peece of fleſh, one that needs licking before hee be brought to faſhion: Here's Natures deformity, characting by the foulneſſe of the body, the filthineſſe of his diſpoſition. Tyrants wee have had of this Reſemblance, who came the wrong way into the world, to intimate what wrongs they would doe unto the world. But now of tamer Creatures.

Severall proprieties reſembling ſeverall perſons.

The *Lambe* cannot drinke of a troubled Spring, no more can Innocence.

The *Hare* ever ſleeps with open eyes: ſo doth good Providence.

The *Coney* is fruitfull and fearefull: So is Nuptiall Chaſtity.

The *Emmet* is in Summer ever fore-ſeeing a Winter: Such is good Husbandry.

Shall wee proceed in Birds likewiſe, and examine their Natures?

The *Turtle* for Conſtancy: The *Crane* for Vigilancy: The *Robin* expreſſeth his love to Man: the *Nightingall* to Women. None more induſtrious than the *Larke*, More laborious than the *Wren*: more odious to her ſelfe, and others, than the *Cuckow*: More Heroïck than the *Eagle*: More baſe than the *Buzzard*.

Then obſerve what ſecret inſtincts given to certaine Birds, to prognoſticate the events of things.

The *Crow*, a fore-teller of what Weather will come to paſſe. The *Halcyon* or *Seamaw*, remarkable in prediction of Stormes: and the *Swallow*, *Crane*, and many others, exact obſervers of Seaſons. *Vid. Aur. Vict.*

It is ſtrange, what is obſerved by the naturall Hiſtorian, of the *Eagle* and *Raven*; the one, ſaith he, knowes *when* the Carkaſſe or Carrion ſhall fall, the other *where*. Which conceit, howſoever it may be many times erring, yet we ſhall ever find the *Raven* firſt ſeazed on his prey, whenſoever any ſuch ſhall caſually fall.

Hee recounts ſundry other Birds, which reteine in them naturally, infallible Notions of the change & various diſpoſition of Weathers.

We may obſerve likewiſe, diverſe Birds who change their note or voice according to the diſpoſition of the weather. Sometimes by their bathing, billing, or ſuch like ſignes, may be naturally gathered infallible notions of the change and various diſpoſition of weathers.

Temporis ad vultum mutat Cornicula vocem.
Temporis ad morem variat Muſtela colorem.

It is ſayd of the Bird *Icterus*, or as *Pliny* calls her *Galgulus*, if any man that is ſick of the yellow Jandiſe ſhall ſee her, the man ſhall waxe whole, recover his ſtrength and colour, and by degrees regaine his former vigour, but the Bird ſhall dye. Some have holden this Bird to be one of the certaineſt diviners of Weathers, of all others; whence the Poët:

Frondator nimbum, prænuntiat Icterus imbrem.

Birds of the Ayre their propheſies retaine,
The Pick'tree *boads a ſtorme, the* Icterus *raine.*

Diverſe of our Navigators likewiſe obſerve, when

when they are on Sea, ſundry incident alterations by the noiſe of Sea-fowles: and are cautioned by them to make ſpeed for Land, leſt a tempeſt endanger their paſſage. Of which ſort, there are Some, who leave the Sea againſt a ſtorme, and flye to Firme Land; remaining there till an *Halcyon* calme invite them to returne.

There are incredible things reported of the *Spinturnix*; a Bird that wont to come to the Altars, where they were ſacrificing, and carry away a burning coale as a token of ill lucke, or burning to the houſe where it alighted.

But theſe Relations are with more ſtrength of Opinion, then probability or reaſon confirmed. Howſoever, no doubt but diverſe Birds by a ſecret inſtinct of nature (the reaſon whereof to us is occult) can prenuntiate the Seaſons and diſpoſitions of weathers; which may appeare by Holy Writ; that *Lydian-ſtone* which can beſt trie the verity of all Humane aſſertions.

The *Swallow* and *Crane know their ſeaſons*. So as, even that Prophet, who ſometimes admoniſhed the people, *not to be affraid for the ſignes of Heaven*, hath admitted theſe conjectural tokens. For the creatures of Heaven and Earth, as they were firſt ordained for our uſe; ſo by our right uſe of them, we may improve our own Knowledge; by making every Creature, a judiciall Epitome of Nature: ever cloſing with a free and humble acknowledgement of his uncircumſcribed Power, by whom they were created; and of whoſe goodneſſe it is that they may in their ſeverall na- Ierem. 10. 2.

tures redound to our benefit, being well imployd.

When a certaine religious Brother, who had beſtowed much precious time on Contemplation; and by meanes of a retyred life, to the end ſecular cares might leſſe intangle him, had attained to ſuch a meaſure of perfection that way, as he eyed nothing whereof he made not ſome Divine uſe; profeſſed one day to One of the ſame *Convent*; "That he could never ſee any Thing, "the ſight whereof did not in ſome manner e-"difie him. Oh, ſayd the other, ſpare a little, "good brother; pray you tell me, wherein can "the ſight of a Toade edifie you? Oh very much, "quoth he; for what have I deſerved that God "ſhould make me a Man and not a Toade? So "that, as often as I ſee a Toade, ſo often do I re-"call this benefit to mind: rendring all due "thankes to him, who according to my deſert "hath not formed me like any ſuch deteſtable "Creature, but hath beſtowed on me the moſt "beautifull and royall image of my Maker.

A divine Contemplation upon Survey had to the loweſt of Gods Creatures.

Surely, as I have formerly obſerved, if our hearts were rightly diſpoſed, by making good uſe of whatſoever in this inferiour Orbe wee ſee here created, and as proper Objects to our eies preſented; we ſhould eaſily confeſſe, that there is no Creature ſo ſmall, vile or deſpicable, which might not be reduced to ſome image or Embleme of our Life; ſeeing, there is none, be it never ſo poore nor contemptible, which preſents not in it ſelfe the goodnes of God. "And "ſo by conſideration had of theſe Temporal and

Exter-

"External benefits (to uſe the words of a Divine "Father) to gather the greatneſſe and immenſi-"ty of the heavenly counſell.

Aug. *Scripturæ ſunt Promptuarium bonorum Documentorum.* Baſil. Mag. *in* Pſal. 1.

Neyther are theſe Moral applications of Birds and the like, whereon, upon occaſion, we have ſo amply inſiſted, to be conceived as uſeleſſe. We ſhall find the Store-houſe of all Divine learning, that Sacred untroubled Fountaine of heavenly Knowledge, furniſhed with Morall ſimilitudes and illuſtrations of this kind. *As the Partrich,* (ſayth the Prophet) *gathereth the young, which ſhe hath not brought forth: ſo hee that getteth Riches, and not by Right, ſhall leave them in the midſt of his dayes, and at his end ſhall be a foole.*

Ier. 17. 2.

Sometimes we ſhall find the tender-hearted *Pellican* named; the *Turtle*, and her affection deſcribed; the obſequious *Storke* commended; the *Sparrow* upon the houſe-top expreſſed. Sometimes Fowles addicted to prey, diſplayed. From which, we may gather excellent matter, not only of magnifying Him by whom they were created, and to their ſeverall offices deſigned: but even in Humane diſcourſe, we ſhall find many occaſions of inlarging our ſelves; by application of the nature and diſpoſition of them. So as, whoſoever ſhall make an uſefull obſervation of theſe feathred Fowles in the ayre, may find much more dainty Phyloſophy in them, than in theſe tame Fooles who pride themſelves in their feathred vanities on earth.

Other Birds there be that have more humane feeling: *Pliny* reports, that there bee certaine Birds

Birds which howle exceedingly at the Eclypſe of the Sunne; as if naturally moved by ſome miraculous influence or inſtinct from heaven, to ſuffer with a Divine body, ſo extreamly ſuffering: Let us deſcend to Wormes, Serpents, and Creeping things, we ſhall ſee in them diſtinct qualities alſo.

Natures of Serpents, and of Pagan Adorations.

The Serpent *Pareas* creepeth on his Taile, and with the ſharpneſſe of his Belly makes a furrow upon the ground where he crawleth.

See the Diſcourſe of *Aſia*, and *Affricke*, entituled: *The Fardell of Faſhions In Aulular.*

Strange things be reported of the Serpent *Seraphis*, adored by the *Ægyptians* as a God: Others there be no leſſe different in nature, forme, nouriſhment, and feature: Some feeding upon raw fleſh, intimating their ravenous Natures: Others on fiſh (as divers Serpents) living upon the Banke of the River *Nilus*: Others on plants, and the fruit of Trees, which *Plautus* expreſſeth by the Vine-fretter:

Matura Vitis folia Involvolus carpit.

Stell. *de Contempt. Mundi.*

But other creeping creatures there be very beneficiall to Humane ſociety. The *Silkeworme*, whoſe labours make our ſilken Gallants. To that exceſſe are we come, as our bravery muſt be maintained by the diligence of the ſimpleſt creatures, cloathing our ſelves with the very bowels of Wormes: Wonderfull is their Generation.

Singula ſolatia ſingulis malis obviantia preparavit Deus. Auguſt.

The *Adder* in her ſelfe obnoxious and hurtfull, yet ſhe caſts her ſkinne (to expreſſe her good meaning to man) an excellent cure to many diſeaſes.

The

The poore Worme, of her ſelfe, neither greatly harmefull nor profitable, onely (by a Synonomy betwixt Man and Her) ſhe is the beſt Mirrour of humane Glory, an Embleme of our Mortality: and an importunate Gueſt that will come to banquet on our bodies, though not invited: She is called *Vermis* (*quaſi inermis*) ſhe can but turne againe, that's all the defenſive, or offenſive weapon ſhe hath ready.

The Worme a Motive of Thankfulnes, and the beſt Character of humane frailty.

Theſe ſilly contemptible creatures be eſpeciall Motives to a good man, of Thankfulneſſe: the example we read in that devout Father *Anſelme*; who walking one day in his garden, and ſeeing a poore Worme crawling under his feete, preſently applyed this Chriſtian-like uſe to himſelfe.

O Lord, thou mighteſt have made mee like this Worme, contemptible and baſe, to live in the holes and cavernes of the earth; But ſuch was thy mercy, as thou wouldeſt not: beſtowing on me thine owne Image, that thy ſimilitude might be glorified in mee. A comfortable meditation of a zealous Father, and worthy our obſervation.

Diverſities of Natures in Fiſhes.

We will now diſcourſe of the ſkaly Fiſhes in their kind, that the Majeſty and power of God (by giving ſuch diverſity of Natures to Fiſhes) may appeare in the Depths, as before it was manifeſtly expreſſed upon the earth, and all dry places. Here is a Tyrannicke power even in the Ocean, and an abſolute government without reſtraint

What rare properties are in the *Ambizamatare*, or the *Fiſh of the Rock*, & what commodious uſe the people of *Congo* make of it, may appeare in that Diſcourſe entitled, *A Report of the Kingdome of Congo. fol.* 24.

straint of power: Here is a Musicall concordancy likewise; a Diapason of Sea-inhabitants. The *Dolphin* playing a soft straine, resembling a Meane: the *Sturgeon* (swimming against the Streame) sharpens her Note, more neare a Treble: the *Iulis* a smooth Counter-tenor, and the rowling *Porpoise* the Base.

Iulis; vide Plinium; *quam tenacem piscem appellat, &c.*

Here is great enmity (likewise) for predominancy: And that amongst the greatest, the *Orcke* with the *Whale*: The *Cuttell* with the *Thornebacke*; the *Sea-horse* with the *Sea-vrchin*: Many rare vertues in little creatures: with what strangenesse the *Remora* (a fish of small bignesse) holds a Shippe, when in her full Saile? How wonderfully the *Turpedo* delivers her-selfe, being taken by the unhappy Fisher? disgorging her owne bowels, to stupefie the Taker with an uncouth amazement.

Contention amongst Fishes.

Againe, to observe the ravenous disposition of the *Pike*; the sociable condition of the *Trout*; the various discolouring of the *Polypus*; the strong digestion of the *Porpoise*: would beget in these curious Surveyors of nature, much admiration. And then to compare the natures of these water-inhabitants with our selves, who follow, for most part, the bent of our desires, as if we were estranged from that beauty which incomparably most adornes us; and drenched in the leas of our owne corruptions, which makes man most unlike himselfe; by idolatrizing that which gives the greatest blemish to his Excellence.

The different natures of Fishes; & wherein properly they allude to Man.

Emblemes are devices no lesse usefull then delightful,

lightfull, to preſent Man beſt to himſelfe: and to taxe him too by way of ſhadowing, what (perchance) he would be loath to endure in a freer manner of expreſſion.

For tell me, how ſhould any of our *Grand-oppreſſours*, who make their *Inferiours* their *ſponges*: ſatning themſelves with violence; and ſpinning to themſelves an eſtate out of others bowels: how ſhould theſe, I ſay, read of the ravenous diſpoſition of the *Pike*, and not reflect upon themſelves? They find his nature to be ſuch, that all is fiſh that comes to his net. He admits no diſpenſation; if his power may ſurprize him; he becomes his prey. Affinity, Conſanguinity, all reſpects of civil Society muſt be excluded: his *will* is his *Law*; and he muſt ſuffer that dare oppoſe it.

This might ſtrike a glowing bluſh in our hunting *Nimrods*; who, ſo they may ſeaze on their prey, and make innocence the object of their fury; neyther care for Heaven nor Hell. Judgements cannot ſtartle them; becauſe they are yet inſenſible of them. Compaſſion cannot ſupple them; for that is ſuch a ſtranger, as of all other Pilgrims they never gave her harbour. Nay, humanity beares ſo little ſway with them; as they ſcorne to incline to ought that may civilize them.

It is ſayd, that Pictures convey deepeſt impreſſures, and that many have bluſhed in the peruſall of ſome Emblemes, by eying in them their owne natures. I could wiſh that theſe, who have ingaged themſelves to oppreſſion, and made injury their Darling, to looke upon the *Lucius*: who

takes his name from his quick-discerning sight; but imployes it to an indirect end. They shall finde themselves charactred in his Life: and read such qualities in him, as Humanity cannot chuse but loath. That cautious Impresse about his Embleme may serve too for an usefull direction:

"*Id facere laus est, quod decet, non quod licet.*

Then to note that sociable Affability of the *Trout*, cannot but beget singular effects in sweete and well-tempered dispositions. This may be an Embleme to all such who affect nothing more than Concord: Litigious Suiters, who cramme Seates of Judicature with fat fees: who will doe no right, nor take wrong; who feed themselves with Contention; and have ever an Oare in that Boat which is imbarked in Waters of Division; are all *Antipodes* to this Embleme.

Marcus Calius was said to have a good right hand, but an ill left hand, because he could plead against a man better than for him. But these are no such Agents: These will either doe good, or doe nothing. As they affect peace; so every particular action of theirs merits praise. These desire not to swell great, by the Consumption of Others: nor disperse their well-grounded Fame on a disadvantageous Warre: They ever reteine their place, and impale it with this Impresse of Peace: "*Pax una Triumphis innumeris potior*——

Then goe to your Machiavell Statist, that changeable-colour'd *Polypus*. One, who can walke in a Cloud, and disguise dangerous plots with vertuous pretences. Here you shall finde nothing

nothing unliker a mans ſelfe than himſelfe. He flies with the *Lapwing*, farre from his Neſt, that he might be more ſecure: and more eaſie it were to finde that incredible Stone in the *Lapwings* Neſt, than to retrive the ſecrecy of his Aymes. Though the *Polypeſiſh* be various in Colours; and in nothing more mutable than her owne Feature: This politick Maſker can vye with him in various projects: being ſuch a faithfull Secretary to himſelfe, as he ſcornes to have any his Intelligencer: or to diſcover himſelfe otherwiſe to the World, than by pretending what is the leaſt of his meaning. And now he is come to that height of perfection, (if wee may ſafely beſtow ſuch a Title on diſſembling) as he is jealous of Others truſt: nor dare ſcarcely beleeve himſelfe, while hee conferres privately with his owne Breaſt. In a word, ſo unequally paraleld is his outward diſguiſe, and inward conceit, as his Diſſembling has begot in him, and deriv'd to us this impreſſive Caution:

—— "*Quod non es, ne videare cave.*

Now, for the ſtrong-digeſting *Porpoiſe*: that naturall Deſcription (for it ſhadows not onely the outward Conſtitution) implies the quality of ſuch perſons; as can connive at injuries received: can ſuffer with an equall temper, whatſoever the iniquity of Time, or inclemency of Fate ſhall or may inflict. Others, while they exclaime againſt Deſtiny, & reare the Clouds with no leſſe fruitleſſe than godleſſe Imprecations:

These with a resolved silence, and habituate patience, can *digest* all indignities: laugh at the Braves of Fortune: and with a composed spirit crowne their Sufferings with this expression: "*Patior potiorá, vicissim.*

The *Acipenser*, or which *Pliny* calls, *Sacer piscis*, feeds on nothing but Mans flesh, implying a caveat to Man: that having so many Enemies even on Earth, and not free from them in the Depth, should not spend his time in security, but prevent the enmity of all creatures by a diligent and vigilant care to himselfe. Long could I protract this discourse, but two materiall parts of this Relation with-hold me from insisting longer: The first whereof first offering themselves, be Plants and Vegetative Bodies.

The study of Kings in Plants, Hearbs & Fruits, &c.

The wisest of all Kings was much conversant in these Studies, knowing every Tree, every Hearbe, and every flower: *à Cedro Libanon, usq; ad Hyssopum supra parietem:* An excellent Commendation in a King; not addicting his minde to other things than the purchase of Knowledge, even in inferiour things: that a generality of knowing, might make him worthy of governing.

Probus the *Roman* Emperour, who succeeded *Florianus* in the Empire, was much addicted to Planting, and distinguishing the Natures of Flowers, the vertues of Plants, with proper observances accommodated for the knowledge of all Seasons, apt for Grafting, Stilling, and the like: Planting the Mountaine *Almus* sited neare

Syrmium,

Syrmius, and the Mount *Aureus* in *Maſia* the Higher, with Vines.

The like we read of *Galerius Maximinus*, Surnamed *Armentarius*; and many others of the *Romans*, whoſe diligence was much imployed in ſuch pleaſant affaires.

To what eſpeciall Reſemblances theſe Trees be accómodate.

Reſemblances in theſe vegetative Bodies, require obſervance; to ſee the *Vine* like a fruitfull Mother of many faire Children, ſending out her ripened cluſters, faire bloſſoming Sprigs, and infinite ſtore of pretty Slippes, imitating their Mothers fruitfulneſſe, and bending with her owne Burden, as not able to ſupport her ſelfe without ſome ſtay or upholder: The pittifull *Elme* ſtretcheth her armes out to beare her up, in pure compaſſion moved to helpe her, that in her ſelfe and fruitfull Iſſue, was ſo helpfull unto others. Whence, ſome have reſembled the *Vine* and the *Elme* to the *Church* and *Commonweale*; whoſe office it is to ſupport the *Church* when diſtreſſed, as the *Elme* ſuccours the *Vine* when ſurcharged.

Plinius.

The *Vine* ſeemes ſometime to weepe (for teares indeed ſhee ſheds) as if in Throwes and paine of her Labour: Theſe teares diſtilling from the *Vine* cure the Leproſie: So as ſhe ſeemes both Fruitfull and Soveraigne, yeelding no leſſe comfort in her teares, than verdure in her ſprayes.

Teare-ſhedding Trees.

Many of theſe teare-ſhedding Trees there be, as the *Myrrh*-dropping *Amber*, and the *Roſined Fyrrh*: Theſe by alluſion may ſeeme to commiſerate our unhappy ſtates, ſubjected to myriads of anxie-

anxieties, by the taſte of one Tree, whoſe diſmall fruit made us wretched.

Some Trees we have for harbour and ſhadow onely, reſembling our diſſembling profeſſours; whoſe externall appearance makes great ſhow of a fruitfull inſide, when nothing, ſave a meere naked pretence of Piety, remaines in them.

Others for fruit, without any ſtore of bloſſomes; and ſuch be they as deſire rather to be good, than ſo accounted.

Buxus amatori languere ſimillima viſa eſt, pallor ineſt illi, pallet & omnis amans. Alciat.

Some Trees pine away, as if ſurprized with an amorous paſſion, exemplified in the Boxe: Others ſhew by their freſhneſſe, to whom they are conſecrate, as the Myrtle.

Some loſe not their colour in Winter, like the patient man, who beleagred with the worſt of fortunes oppoſitions, never changeth countenance for the matter; but like that *Venetian* Motto writ in Triumph: *Nec fluctu nec flatu movetur.*

Areſemblance of Odours, Flowers, and other Beauties to the inward Graces & Ornaments of the minde.

Others not ſubject to any hurt by thunder, as the Bayes: reſemble the ſincere conſcience, not diſcomfitted with any aſſault, or diſmayed with any terrour.

Sweet Odcurs, Flowers, and all other Beauties ſtrowed upon this artificiall Carpet, garniſh the earth, as the internal vertues inhabiting the mind, doe the Soule: This diſcourſe more concerning the Herbiſt, than Hiſtorian, makes me more briefe in the handling hereof.

☞ Hee amplifies this Diſcourſe of Plants, Hearbs, and Fruites.

Yet in regard of that precious reſemblance which they reteine (as all our Moraliſts have well obſerved) to our inward beauty, I chuſe the rather

to

to inſiſt a little ampler of them, by an apt compariſon or paralell betwixt them and ſuch diſpoſitions as they reſemble. For the greateſt benefit that may any way redound to man, is ſeriouſly to read man : and in the Survey of inferiour Creatures, to collect wherein any of theſe may ſeeme to read a Lecture to Man ; wherein ſoever he comes either ſhort or over of what is required of him. This that wiſe *Democritus* obſerved in the diſſection of his Anatomies : and this ſhould wee in our very Walkes and Recreations abroad uſually practice : ſo may the application of them to our ſelves, infinitely improve us.

In our tracing and traverſing the Forreſt ; wee ſhall there finde ſome Trees for ſhade, but barren of fruite : Others leſſe uſefull for ſhade, but plenteous in fruit.

Our Sanctimonious-ſeeming *Non-Conformatiſt* reteines an apparant reſemblance of the one : our *Sincere Profeſſour* of the other.

A goodly beauteous Shadow to delude vulgar eyes, ſufficeth the former : but ſhadowes are reduc'd to ſubſtantiall fruites by the latter.

Theſe Hiſtoricall Relations may (likewiſe) point at painted friendſhippe. Where many, in their Airy profeſſions will not ſtick to promiſe golden Mountaines : but their performance (the eſſentiall fruite or effect of promiſe) dyes alwayes in the Socket ; the ſnuffe of that vaporous Complement expires and dyes.

That *Palme-tree* in *Congo* is uſefull in both : nay, plenteous in affording al cómodities, as if it conteſted inquality with the *Melt* of *Mexico* : For it yeeldeth *Oyle*, *Wine*, *Vinegar*, *Fruit* & *bread*. The *oyle* is made of the ſhale of the fruite. The Bread is made of the ſtone of the fruit. The *Wine* is drawn from the top of the tree, by making a hole therein, from whence diſtilleth a lyquor like milke, which at the firſt is ſweete, but afterwards ſower, and in proceſſe of time becommeth very *vinegar*, to ſerve for Sallets.

Friendſhip (ſayth the *Stagyrian*) is *one ſoule* which ruleth *two hearts*; and *one heart* which dwelleth in *two bodies*. Hearts then muſt not be ruled by ſhadowes. Congies, Cringes, Curtſies and Formalities may delude, and imparadize an unexperienc'd Novice: Theſe, I ſay, may tranſport our youngling, who never knew what diſſembling meant: nor could ever yet diſtinguiſh betwixt fruite and ſhade, Eſſence and Semblance: but thoſe, who are experimentally verſ'd in the World, eaſily decline from ſuch Snares. For Circumſpection hath taught them ſuch a Leſſon, as they have learned to ſeaſon Amity with Salt: and introduce acquaintance by experience; leaſt their too eaſie intimacy beget repentance.

Plutarch reporteth that *Plato* came forth of *Aſia* into *Cilicia* for no other cauſe but only to ſee his deare friend *Phocion* the Philoſopher.

Such a viſit begot an amicable benefit, a Philoſophicall improvement. Theſe enterviewes were not like that of *Alcmæons* to *Craſus*: his regreet was to receive gold: a ſordid ayme! when Vertue is the prize which ſhould onely be in chace. Guilded ſhadowes merit approvement, but by whom? By Fooles of the Time. But no true amity can be derived from theſe; no more then fruits from ſhadowes. This reſemblance then holds to life, both in flower and fruit.

A *Iuniper tree* maketh the hoteſt coale, and the cooleſt ſhadow of any Tree. The coale is ſo hot, that if it be rak't up in aſhes of the ſame, it continueth unextinguiſhed by the ſpace of a whole yeare. Here

Fabiole Manſ. 25.

Here is the Embleme of an incomparable diſpoſition; here is both *heate* to refreſh an afflicted friend, when with adverſity benummed: and *ſhadow* to ſolace him, when with the grandeur of buſineſſe ſurcharged. Here is warmth to allay cold: and cooleneſſe too, to attemper heate. *Comment. in 1. Reg: c. 1.*

Peter Martyr ſheweth, that cloathing doth keep the body warme two wayes: by keeping in the natural heat of the body: and by keeping out the accidentall cold of the aire.

Sure I am, ſuch a friendſhip as is here deſcribed, and by the ſweet-ſented Embleme of the *Iuniper*, ſhadowed, may be for all ſeaſons equally accommodated: an excellent garment, being fitted both for Cover and Ornament.

Now the *Sycamore* is of an other nature: though it afford a ſpreading ſhade, it reteines no ſuch native heat: it delights the eye, but reliſheth not the taſte. And this diſcovers our large profeſſing friends in *Folio*; who are ample enough in proteſts: but all they beſtow upon us in the end, are but ſcattred Leaſes: they are rich in ſhade, but rare in fruit.

Who can paſſe by the Winter-flouriſhing *Cypreſſe*, but muſt paralell that Tree with an Heroïcke reſemblance?

Cupreſſus nobilis Emblema militis.

Fates nor Furies cannot amate him: no enemy ſo powerfull, nor danger ſo mortall, as can detract from his Spirit; or weaken his courage. He hates no Fury more then feare: nor entertaines ought with a more reſolved temper, then the ex-

treameſt oppoſitions of fortune; holding it the higheſt degree of happineſſe to expire with honour.

I could here inlarge this Diſcourſe with ſundry inſtances of this kind: but I muſt leape from this branch, and deſcend to a ſubject lower in reſpect of ſite: but nothing inferiour in delight: being commodiouſly applied, as it is compendiouſly compiled.

Of precious Stones.

For Stones, and all kinds of Minerals, it is a knowledge worthy Gentlemen: wherein I may likewiſe comprehend the ancient knowledge of Coines, in what Emperours time, and their ſeverall inſcriptions.

Iulium Cæſarem ſpe Margaritarum, Britanniam petiſſe,

We read how *Iulius Cæſar* came into *Brittany* in hope to finde Pearles; though *Caligula's* trafficke ſeemed leſſe worthy, commanding his Souldiers to gather Cockle-ſhels.

It is a very generous quality (and ſometimes he ſhall be put to his judgement) to diſtinguiſh rightly and exactly of Saphires, Emeralds, Diamonds, &c. This requires exact judgement, luſtres may be given to Glaſſe, as well as Diamonds: Adulterate Gemmes paſſe current with our Novice: The Silver-Smiths of *Epheſus* have inſtructed this Age ſufficiently, and fraud muſt be incorporate to every Profeſſion.

If theſe Gems, I talke of, were ornaments of the Mind; I ſhould deſire longer to inſiſt upon them: but being (as theſe times uſe them) rather foments to enſnare and entrappe, than attractive motives to affect; according to their Native properties

properties, being ordained as reſemblances of vertues; I will not dilate of their values, but only of their power, more pertinent to my Diſcourſe, and better according with my knowledge; who *Æſchylus*-like, have long time drawne Water out of anothers Ceſterne, but never filled mine owne Bucket.

Many excellent vertues of Stones, doth *Pliny* in his Naturall Hiſtory ſet downe unto us: As ſome have power to fruſtrate the effect of poiſon: Others very powerfull againſt the operations of Magick Spels, Witch-craft, and the like. But as a Judicious Commentary writes of him: *Multa ſcribit, quæ mehercule vera non exiſtimanda ſunt:* Yet to ſtand in ſuſpence with us (for the reverence of ſuch a learned Author) becauſe their effects have not beene as yet tryed of us.

The vertues of Stones deſcribed.

Many things (I confeſſe) ſeeme by all probability like the *Amalga*, to have more Moone than Sunne in them: But the experiments which wee have in ſome, makes us more credulous in others.

The *Diamond* (whoſe Character is not to bee razed) reſembles the pure impreſſions of vertue we have received, and which is traduced to us, by the intellectuall eye of the ſoule, which in no caſe ſhould be razed or aboliſhed in us, but to be augmented with a greater increaſe of vertues: It reſembles alſo the truely Charitable man, that to doe good to others, impaires his owne fortunes: For the beſt Motto that ever was made of the *Diamond*, was this: *Dum formo, minuo.*

The patient man like the Stone *Galaſia*; Hard as the *Diamond*, cold like Ice, not to be fired. Of the Stone *Asbeſtus*, once on fire will never goe out.

Strange effects in ſtones.

The ſtone *Mithax* (ſaith *Pliny*) is of a perfect colour, till oppoſed to the Sunne, and then it loſeth his colour: It alludeth to many of our painted Sepulchers, our She-puppets: none more cleare, or amiably-coloured then they, till the Sunne glitter on them, and their ſlightly-laid-on varniſh, preſently then diſſolveth: *Quantum mutatur ab illa?* True *Sodoms* Apples, no ſooner touched, then to duſt and corruption turned.

Allusions of certaine ſtones to internall Graces.

Topaz, her oppoſite (in Native vertue) ſhineth moſt in the thickeſt darkneſſe: The very Idæa of Vertue her ſelfe: The Clouds cannot interpoſe themſelves betwixt her, and her Native luſtre: The *Glo-worme* gliſters not more by night, then it doth in obſcurity: A pretious ſtone fitteſt for theſe times, and an ornament wel-beſeeming the greateſt Perſonage: for the cloud of Errour ſhould not be able to obſcure their thoughts, ever bending their courſe to the marke of honour.

☞ Reſemblances of pretious ſtones to thoſe choice vertues which ſhould appeare in man: with their diſtinct properties or effects.

The precious ſtone *Diocletes*, though it have many rare and excellent ſoveraignties in it, yet it looſeth them all, if it be put in a dead Mans mouth. Wherein One makes a proper reſemblance to *Prayer*; which is the only Pearle and Jewell of a Chriſtian: though it have many rare and exquiſite vertues in it, yet it loſeth them every one, if it be put into a Mans mouth, or into a Mans heart either, that is dead in ſin, and doth not knocke with a pure hand.

What ſoveraigne power the *Echites* is ſayd to reteine in repelling the poiſon and rebaiting the ſting of the *Viper!* What ſecret vertue lyes hid in the

the *Dionyſius* in ſtaying blood; as in others effuſing blood!

Our naturall Hiſtorians make mention of a certaine ſtone found in the *Lapwings* neſt; the incredible occult vertue whereof is ſuch, that the Party who beares it about him, ſhal by the power thereof make all things viſible to him, yet he viſible to none; diſcovering all things without diſcovery: diſcloſing others with a perſonal ſecrecy.

Lapillum variegati coloris in nido vpupæ invenies, cuius occultâ virtute, nulli viſus omnia videas, nulli notus omnia detegas.

No doubt but *Gyges* Ring had ſome relation to this ſtone; to whom *Candaules*, that doating King, ſhewed his wife naked: which indiſcreete part reft him of Kingdome, Wife, and Life. For the Queene being grieved thereat, to have any ſtrange Eye ſo familiarly knowne to the ſecrecy of her beauty; which even in native Modeſty, exacted a vaile to priviledge it from ſuch an open diſcovery, cauſed *Gyges*, upon the tender of her. Princely affection, to ſlay the King; to take upon him the Kingdome, and to take her to his wife. This *Gyges* had a Ring (as Divine *Plato* reporteth) that had vertue to make him go inviſible.

They that looked upon *Sylla's* Ring, could not chooſe but take notice both of *Sylla's* Seale and the Treaſon of *Iugurth*, becauſe that was graven on the Seale. Excellent Morals are ſhadowed in theſe: and ſuch as uſefully applied, may redound highly to the appliers benefit.

Plut. in vit. Syl.

Strange effects are reported of the *Calazia* (by the Teſtimony of *Heſych.*) a ſtone of precious vertue, having in it ſpots like unto Haile. Soveraigne, as may be collected by what our Hiſtorians

rians have writ of it, to cure any burne or inflammation. So as, this might well reteine that divine Hieroglyphick of one Cardinall Vertue, *Temperance*. If heate of affection transport us; any unbounded passion surprise us; the spirit of vaine-glory inflame us, that we cannot take our naturall rest with *Themistocles*, for his ambitious emulation after *Miltiades*: or finde that ravenous appetite ever raging, ranging and reigning in us, which sometimes accompanied that gluttonous *Cambletes*: or to satisfie our unconfined desires with the Delicacies of Earth, as if it were on Earth to satisfie Man, with licentious *Lucullus*: or to plot new devices how to innovate in a distemper'd State with *Sertorius*: or to enrich our Coffers by others ruines, and milch the State with our Oppressions, like another *Acilius*. If these, or any of these distempers seaze upon us, that *Calazia* of *Temperance* (for so is that Stone properly resembled) will moderate them in us: by reducing us to that Resemblance we had lost; and moulding in us that *Effigies* which we are above all others to love. For as nothing can be happily atchieved, or gracefully performed, unlesse it be seasonably acted: so no Vertue may properly reteine that Style, unlesse it be by *Temperance* seasoned.

The *Pyropus*, what beauty and vertue it holds; all our Naturalists have amply discourſed. No Subject, be it never of so cold nor freezing a nature, can alter his temper. This Stone ever reteines his heate; so as, it may be properly compared

pared to the temper of ſuch a compoſed minde; who ſtands reſolved againſt all the affronts or inſults of Fortune. No palſey-feare can amate him; no diſtemper alter him. With the heate of his owne Nature hee knowes how to thaw all thoſe icy congelations, which proceed from a weake or puſillanimous ſpirit. Such an Ones blood flies not from his heart to his face; but from his face to his heart. For though his outward viſible part expreſſe a pallid feare; his heart ſcornes to give harbour to ſuch a Traytor.

He findes nothing ſo weake as that deſpicable minde; who *Protheus*-like, changeth his heart with the habit of the Time; and deſires to comply with Greatneſſe, and to fawne on ſilken Vice; vowing it, as one ſtrucke amaz'd with the ſplendor of it, to be all vertuous. Much otherwiſe affected is his ſpirit, who like the unquenchable *Pyropus*, ſmiles at nothing more than the indignities of Fortune: and eſteemes nothing leſſe, than vicious Greatneſſe. And if it chance at any time (as ſuch Occurrents are every where obvious) that a baſe-creeping ſpirit, who relyed more on the *ſhelter* of *Greatneſſe*, than *Honour* of *Goodneſſe*, periſh in his hopes, and dye in the ſtraw: This tickles his honeſt Lungs with laughing *Democritus*; cloſing his Obſervation with this Poëticall Ayre:

This 'tis to build upon a Great mans word,
And foole himſelfe with following of a Lord.

The *Parius lapis* or Touch-ſtone, Some, and that not improperly, have compared to affliction: It

is this that trieth Man whether he be *true-Touch* or no. This confirmes that golden Sentence of a devout Man: "We are unknowne to our selves, "'till affliction lye us open to our selves.

We shall observe many, whose outward tincture promiseth nothing-lesse then the purest colour of Heraldry, prove Copper in the touch. All is not gold that glisters.

Outward apparances are shady fallacies. The habit displayes not the Heart; nor the outward Semblance the inward disposition of the Mind.

Cicero sayd of *Galba's* leaden and lumpish body: *His wit had an ill lodging*; which may be truly applied to all these dissembling pretenders: such promising Leafes are ill bestowed on such barren Trees. Shadowes, though they hold a concomitance with Substance; yet are they never really the same. That man only deserves so noble a style, who imbraceth faith and fealty, intertaineth love and loyalty, improveth his courage and constancy amidst all encounters: yea, when the extreamest beleaguers and assaults of Fortune have done their worst, remaines ever *true-touch*.

How *Mahomet* the first deluded his credulous posterity, with an opinion of miraculous Sanctity, in that very Monument which hee had caused to bee erected in his Memory.

In the discourse of the Ceremonies of *Mecha*, we shall find a rare device there recommended to our view, in the perpendicular placing of that *Sepulchre* of *Mahomet*: Meerely contrived by that cunning Projector to delude the *Mahometans*, by making them beleeve that to be a miraculous Object, which to more approoved and refined judgements appeared only a native experiment.

riment. Thoſe that write of that Subject, deſcribe it thus: There is an *Adamant* placed in the Rooſe above, and a *Magnet* fixed in the pavement by an equall or direct line below; now, the *Sepulchre* of *Mahomet* made of ſolid iron, hangs in a Diametrall manner betwixt theſe two: without ſtay or ſupportance of either. This begot in thoſe bewitched people a wonderfull amazement, honouring that Monument with their yearely Proceſſionall viſits; offring rich preſents to that *Mahometan* ſhrine: never underſtanding thoſe occult vertues of the two Stones fixed above and below; who, by their naturall oppoſition and enmity (as one maligning the others attractive quality) would not ſuffer that heavy ponderous body either to aſcend or deſcend; but to reteine an equall ſite or location betwixt them both. This it was that confirmed theſe *Mahometans* in the ſtrength of a deluded opinion, that their *Mahomet* was a great and powerful Prophet, ſhewing ſuch high proofes and demonſtrances of his extraordinary abilities living; and leaving ſuch a Miracle for all poſterity to admire in his departing.

But to leave their effects, and returne to their Emblemes: The *Adamant* is compared to One that is truely-affectionate; ever bearing this peculiar Impreſſe: "*Si me amas, mihi Adamas.*

Rare Experiments have our ancient Profeſſants made of the *Aſpilates*, a Stone, according to the Teſtimony of *Democritus*, of a fiery colour, got in *Arabia*, and found in a certaine kind of

Birds Neſt. He reporteth, that this Stone being tyed with a *Camels* haire to any one troubled with the Spleane, it will cure him.

Diodorus relateth of a kind of Salt, called *Ammonick*, and found in *Affrick* under Sand; when the Moone groweth toward the full; it is like Stone-allumne, and is medicinable in diſſolving and purging of Fleagme.

Pliny likewiſe reports ſtrange things of the *Ammonis Cornu*; being a precious Stone of the colour of Gold, repreſenting the ſhape of a *Rammes Horne*; of a powerfull quality in cauſing true Dreames. But many of theſe, I muſt freely confeſſe, like the *Amalga*, have farre more *Moone* than *Sunne* in them; being many times related, rather to beget admiration, than gaine credit: Albeit, wee are not altogether to diſtruſt them, unleſſe our owne Experience had found the contrary to evince them. Howſoever, ſure I am, their Reſemblances give an excellent grace and beauty to any diſcourſe, whether Morall or Divine.

There is a *Crowne*, (ſaith St. *Peter*) that is *undefiled, which never fadeth away*. The *Greeke* words, Ἀμίαντος, Ἀμάραντος, which St. *Peter* uſeth, are *Latine* words alſo: and they are not onely *Appellatives*, being *Epithetes* of this Crowne, but alſo *Propers*; the one the proper name of a Stone, the other of a Flower. For *Iſidore* writeth, there is a precious Stone called *Amiantus*; which, though it be never ſo much ſoyled, yet it can never at all be blemiſhed: and being caſt into the Fire,

Iſidorus Etymolog. li. 16. ca. 4.

Fire, it is taken out ſtill more bright and cleane.

Alſo *Clement* writeth, that there is a Flower called *Amarantus*, which being of a long time hung up in the Houſe, yet it is ſtill freſh and greene. To both which, the Stone and the Flower, the Apoſtle, as I am perſwaded, alludeth in that place. *Clements Alexandr. Pedagog. li. 1. ca. 8.*

To recount the vertues of all, were a ſuperfluous Taske; for ſo ſhould I make a Collection meerely of what hath beene written before, I only ſet downe with my ſelfe, to extract the ſpecialleſt, and to make reſemblances of them with the Native proportions of ſuch things as are moſt uſuall objects to our outward ſences. I will briefly touch the admirable devices of Minerals, and ſo proceed to my intended Diſcourſe. *Vid. Iſidor. Diſc. cor. d. Martian.*

Mines the lower layd, the better: in them wee diſbowell (as it were) Nature of her hidden treaſures; yet the Earth, like a kind and bountifull Mother, willingly unrips her owne breaſt, to enrich her Children; the divers veines, and cordons which we find there, like hidden or concealed ſtreames, having filled up their Treaſure-channels (becauſe ſo long time unemptied) miniſter ſtore of all Mettals unto their Digger. *Of Minerals.*

Caeſar in his Commentaries, ſeemes greatly to have delighted herein, having ſo quickly found out with what ſorts of Mettals, theſe *Brittaine*-coaſts moſt abounded: Some we have of theſe Mineraliſts that by the ſuperficies of the Earth, can judge, what kinde of Mettall beſt agrees with that Soyle; and without piercing

the ground (can prettily well) preſage the event of their labour: Their Studies deſerve cheriſhing, being grounded on honeſt foundations, and ſuch as have much benefited their Countrey by their induſtry.

The North-part famous for Copper-worke, by their labour and induſtry yeelding no ſmall benefit to their Countrey. Which works, though of late yeeres diſcontinued, are now with much improvement and honour to the under-takers, revived.

The North-part in their Copper-workes moſt laborious, merit their ſhare of Commendations; both profiting themſelves, and yeelding an ample gaine to the Kings Revenewes out of their Labours. The moſt precious Mines have beene ever found out in Regions leaſt inhabited, and where the Inhabitants could make little or no uſe of ſo large a bounty of Nature, as to this day among the *Indians*; men that would exchange their precioueſt things for trifles: like *Æſops* Cock, preferring a Barley-corne before a Pearle.

Yet in theſe labours (in themſelves prayſeworthy) I altogether diſallow ſuch (of which our reading miniſters too many examples) that have digged the Sepulchres of the dead, to find ſome hidden Treaſure buried with them. A ſharpe Law was enacted (for this end) amongſt the *Ægyptians*, (which Nation uſed to interre their chiefe Jewels with the dead party) that whoſoever ſhould violate the ſacred rites of the dead, by digging up their Treaſures incheſted with them, ſhould be buried quicke.

A pretty Caution for a Miſer.

A pretty ſtory to this purpoſe is recorded of *Semyramis*, that valiant Queene of *Aſſyria*; who before her death, commaunded that a faire Monument ſhould be erected over her, upon which ſhould

ſhould be engraven this Inſcription: ***Whoſoever ſhall digge up this ſtone, let him but looke under it, and he ſhall finde an infinite maſſe of treaſure.*** *Cyrus* having conquered that people, chanced to come where that curious monument was erected; and ſeeing this Inſcription upon it, preſently commaunded the Stone to be taken up; which being done accordingly, he found no Treaſure, but this caution of better value then all Treaſures: ***None but Fooles and Miſers would digge up the bones of the dead.*** A reward well fitting the miſerable deſire of an inſatiate Mind.

I might annexe to this Diſcourſe, the excellent ſtudy of Antiquities, and ſpeake in part of them; But our coaſt is freighted with ſuch elaborate Antiquaries, as the digreſſion might ſeeme leſſe neceſſary. Through all the body of this Diſcourſe (including Phyſicall Relations) I have but ſhadowed the chiefeſt, without entention to intreate of every particular, uſing ***Valerius Maximus*** words: ***Quis omnis ævi geſta modico voluminum numero comprehenderit?*** I will deſcend to ***Mixt Hiſtories***, which was the laſt branch of my diviſion.

Mixt Hiſtories are compoſed, or compounded of all thoſe three, of which we have ſufficiently entreated before. Variety of ſubjects beſt agree with the frame of theſe Writings: They expreſſe to the quicke, not only what was done Diſcurſively, but what ſhould have beene done Mo- Mixt Hiſtories.

Mixt Histories composed of all kinds.

Morally, and deriving the event from probable causes, arising from nature, they conclude their Discourse, making it Universall. Some have stiled these *Miscellanea*, because a commixture of all affaires; they playing the Morall Philosopher aswell as Historian; comprehend all which the other could any way seeme to entreate of; being the abridgement of all Relations, and in themselves sufficient to produce incredible effects: they require especiall Reading, ripe Judgement, and an apt Disposition withall to make their members, so diversly hanging, unite in one maine body.

☞ The Cõmendation of *Mixt Histories*; with Instances of sundry Historians both Ancient and Moderne, who have beene usefully vers'd therein.

And to descend now to a commendation of *Mixt Histories*; with instances of sundry Historians both Ancient and Moderne, who have bin usefully vers'd therein. There be none in my opinion, who better deserve the Palme in Subjects of this nature, then those ever-living Labours of *Thuano's*, *Surius*, with that excellently composed History of *Paulus Iovius*. And for a continued Allegory, never Relation deserved more approbation, both for Style and State, then *Barclei's Argenes*. An History, which puts on the face of things really done; yet meerely shadowing Persons of State, under borrowed names: Expressing his owne aymes in such an implicit, but pleasing manner, that this Isle (since such Assayes must of necessity be attempted) might have esteemed herselfe highly happy, in afford ing him a deserving Translator; or according to his own thoughts, a faithful Interpretor.

Histories

Hiſtories of this nature (as I have elſe where obſerved) doe not onely make relation of what is actually done; but inſert ſuch perſonall applications, as may benefit the underſtanding Reader; by making uſe of exploits done, and applying the uſe of what was formerly done, to ſucceeding times. Others harmes make us beware of incurring the like. Where Reading of men, and taking a punctuall Survey or Examen of their actions, we become many times wiſer, than if we had beene wholly vers'd in reading of Bookes. It was a witty ſaying of an outwardly-contemplative man, *Relegentur libri, relegantur viri.* "Lay aſide Bookes, and take your ſelves to rea-"ding of Men. So long as the *World* is a *Theatre*, *Man* muſt needes be an Actor. The Booke-holder ſtands in the Tyring-houſe; but the Action muſt be preſented on the Stage. This, thoſe excellent Hiſtorians, ſingularly expreſſed, and to life portrayed; when they made not onely mention of what was done, but the natures of thoſe perſons intereſſed in what was done.

Heere they deſcribe fiery-furious Spirits, more ready to attempt than adviſe: Action in theſe ever goes before reſolution. Contrariwiſe, others of a ſlower but ſafer temper, conſider of the end and iſſue, before they will attempt. No glowing ſpirit of ambition; no tranſportancy of vaine-glory can leſſen their diſcretion. Their actions are rightly meaſured, becauſe adviſe and deliberation are their Counſellours of State. This might be inſtanced in a fore-ſlowing *Fabius*, and

forward *Cethegus*; a precipitate *Cleon*, and a prepared *Bracidas*.

A singular observation recommended to Gentlemen in their reading of Hiſtory.

Now, in Diſcourſes of this kind, there is a ſingular obſervation which I muſt neceſſarily recommend to all our Gentlemen who affect the reading of Hiſtory; and this I have culled from that Father of all Hiſtorians, *Plutarch* himſelfe. Who, as he deſcribes the Lives of ſuch Princes or eminent Perſonages as he takes occaſion to treat of; ſo he likewiſe paralels or compares their actions and diſpoſitions one with another. Here he ſhowes what exploits ſuch a perſon did; how he bore himſelfe in the paſſage of them; how he came off with honour; how he moderated his affections in the atchievement of a victory; how he behaved himſelfe to thoſe he conquered; how he ſpared moſt, where he might moſt have ſpoyled. Here hee inſtanceth ſome more able to get a victory, than ſkilfull to uſe it: others wiſe enough in making uſe of it, having once obtained it. Some made happy by ſuffering miſery: others miſerable in never partaking infelicity. Some conſtant friends, but inconſtant foes: others conſtant foes, but uncertaine friends. Some apter to perſwade, than perſonally to performe: Others had all their Rhetorick plac'd in action: Their Oratory was a Martiall Summons: yet what they wanted in diſcourſe to bring on their Souldiers; they ſupplyed in boldneſſe of adventures: expoſing their perſons to all dangers. Some ſtout enough of ſpirit, while their bodies were weake; but

Plutarchs paraleling of Princes, highly commended.

weake

weake in ſpirit when their bodies grew ſtrong. To confirme this, hee reports that *Antigonus* had in his army a valiant Souldier, but of a ſickly body: *Antigonus* obſerving his valour, and grieving that ſo ſtout a reſolution ſhould bee ſeconded by ſo weake a conſtitution, procured his Phyſitians to take him in hand, and he was healed. Now being ſound, he beganne to fight in ſome feare, to keepe himſelfe a good diſtance from danger, no more venturing into the vanne or forlorne place of the battell. *Antigonus* noting, and wondering at this alteration, aſked him the cauſe of this new cowardiſe. He anſwers, "O *Antigonus*, thou art the cauſe. Be"fore I ventured nothing but a diſeaſed Corpes, "and then I chooſe rather to dye quickly, then "to live ſickly: I invited death to doe me a kind"neſſe. Now it is otherwiſe with me, for I have "ſomewhat to loſe.

Such delightfull paſſages as theſe, ſhall we every where finde interveined in theſe mixt Diſcourſes.

I approve of *Saluſts* opinion: *Exijs Negotijs quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno uſu eſt memoria rerum geſtarum.* Yet of all thoſe Records, none in themſelves more eminent, becauſe none more elaborate than *mixt Hiſtories*: they contract in one leafe (as it were) what a whole Volume could ſcarcely comprehend. There muſt be a generall knowledge in theſe diſcourſes, making a well-compoſed body of many ſcattered limbes, gathered from the Relickes, or aſhes

These require a generall knowledge, & extend further than all the reſt.

of their deceaſed Authors. For as a good Limner wil not ſee any blemiſh in his portraiture; but (ere he hang it out) will deſire to make every part and proportion in a kinde of correſpondency, to move a more deepe impreſſion in the beholder: So ſhould there be an equall correſpondency in theſe kinde of Hiſtories, letting no diſcourſe paſſe (if of conſequence) without a mixture of both Morall, and Phyſicall reaſons; leſt one little blemiſh (one omiſſion of either) ſhould be a diſparage to the whole. Here *Antomedon*-like, he ſhould ſet out vertues Table, making his life a Globe of Precepts: There, like an excellent Naturaliſt, he ſhould dilate upon the natures of things, or probable reaſons (as as I ſaid before) derived from Nature. The maſter-piece (like the warpe in the webbe) is Diſcourſe: for theſe Butterefles, without a thaine foundation, would ſoone decay.

A judicious diſtinguiſhing of wits.

Wits compared to Soiles: ſome naturally fruitfull, without forcing: others, without continuall labour and tillage, will bring forth nothing but tares (or the Husband-mans teares.) Some fit for Barley, others for Wheat, Oates, or the like: and ſome moſt apt for Miſſellane. So in wits, ſome naturally ripe and forward; others require a more deliberate diſparch: the one more preſent, the other more ſolid. Pregnant and ripe wits are not ſo good; they are like a Rafor keene & ſharpe, but his edge is ſoone rebated. One compared them, & not unfitly, to ſoft wood, ready to receive any impreſſion from the Limner; but for warping, is unable

able to keepe, and therefore not fit for any worthy or curious portraiture. Such wits are theſe, which be rather apt for invention, than judicious ſcanning of any Authors: they can invent, better than extract; and conſequently unfit for theſe mixed Diſcourſes whereof we now entreate.

Exquiſite Labour is the producer of theſe Hiſtories; which (for the moſt part) is intollerable to your ſharpeſt wits, being rather for the preſent, than any ſerious deliberation.

Example of mixt Hiſtories

Saluſt in his *Iugurthine Warre*, includes a pretty commixture of Hiſtories, as if hee had intended to make a Preſident for Relations of this kind, where he brings in *Micipſa* upon his deathbed, ſpeaking to his ſonnes: *Equidem ego regnum vobis trado firmum: Si boni eritis, ſin mali, imbecillum.* Wherein hee ſo lively characters the ſtate of Princes, and the morall inſtruction of a Father dying, to his Children, with the ſeverall Natures and Diſpoſitions of them; that it ſeemes he purpoſed to inſtance this kind of writing in ſo excellent a Subject. Here he ſhews Diſſimulation in a Prince, even at his end: there an unworthy plot of an adopted Sonne, ſeeking to reigne by indirect meanes. Here *Micipſa* exhorts them; with, *Colite talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem.* Yet he intimates withall, his feare of aſpiring, ſeeing his Nature ſo boundleſſe. There he deſcribes the jealous doubts, and perplexed windings of *Adherball*; there the drooping ſpirit of *Hyempſall*, and the royall diſpoſition of *Iugurth*: ſo as by reading their divers natures,

one might conjecture for whom the government of *Numidia* was reserved.

Mixt Hiſtories moſt fruitfull.

Theſe Hiſtories are moſt fruitfull, they draw both Attention, and they comprehend in them great plenty of Inſtruction. Attention by their Variety, Inſtruction by their Morality; including a perſwaſive kind of writing in the one, and a delightfull proceeding, or continuance in the other.

Some Hiſtorians in this kind, and not unfitly, lay open the cauſes of decayes in Cities, Empires, and Governments: as *Romes* fall proceeding from her imperiall Pride, *Babylons* from her Riot, the *Medes* from their Security, the *Tyrians* from their ſumptuouſneſſe in Apparrell; the Chriſtians (in Eaſterne parts) more to their ſhame, and our griefe, from their civill diſſention among themſelves.

☞ Occaſion might be here taken of laying open thoſe eſpeciall grounds, from whence our Hiſtorians have probably drawne their Reaſons of enfeebling the greateſt and flouriſhingſt States, taking breath, as they conceived, from theſe three particulars: *Innovation in Government, Manners, Habit.*

GOVERNMENT. For the firſt; no Inſtance more to life, than when the *Roman* Monarchy became rint and divided to the *Triumviri*; The Empire begun to feele ſtrange Scepters.

The former ſtate of Government, which had made it ſelfe ſo fearefull to her Neighbour-kingdomes, as they feared nothing more than to offend

offend their *Miſtreſſe*; (for ſo might *Rome* at that time be properly ſtyled) became more ſleighted. Thoſe ſinewes of Warre, which before ſhewed ſtrength in her publick Treaſury, became exhauſted; Thoſe *Lawes*, which either the neceſſity of the preſent time had enacted, or the fulneſſe of their State required, through the difference of Commanders, neglected.

The ſaying is, Plants tranſplanted ſeldome thrive; No more, Empires, when their ſtate of Government is altered; their ancient Lawes annulled; the rule by which they were formerly directed, wholly relinquiſhed. New Lords will alwayes have new Lawes: and to their Examples are their Followers ever moulded. There is nothing that beſeemes our naturall complexion better than her owne colour; whatſoever it borrows of Art, rather blemiſheth than beſtoweth any beauty on her.

I muſt confeſſe indeed, that in the dreſſe or faſhion of our Attire, many devices there are (preſuppoſing ever that they be not apiſh nor gariſh) which give a good grace to the Wearer, and doe better become him, in reſpect of the time wherein they are uſed, than if the Old Wardrobes of our Anceſtors were ranſacked, and thoſe ancient Weares brought againe in requeſt. But Antiquity ever holds beſt correſpondency in Managements of State: the more the manner of their Government is altered; the more their Manners are for moſt part corrupted.

This

This it was, that ſo much afflicted *Solon*; after ſuch time as hee had laboured to ſettle the State; revive her uſefull Lawes; and lay downe all grounds that might any way improve their Government. After all this, I ſay, to ſee the people given to *Innovation*; rejecting with much ſleightneſſe and contempt, what hee had both by travaile and counſell endeavoured to eſtabliſh and enact. This grieved him more than his owne Baniſhment, or whatſoever that unthankfull Age could poſſibly inflict.

MANNERS. Secondly, for *Manners*; Thoſe are beſt-beſeeming, which are moſt Native. Alwayes provided, that thoſe places or Countries be Civill, where thoſe *Manners* are uſed, or Lawes obſerved. The *Scythians* were not to conforme themſelves to the Manners nor Diſcipline of the *Ægyptians*; nor theſe to the *Scythians*. The *Laconians*, whoſe ſtrict Diſcipline both for Meate, Drinke, and Apparell, made them imitable Preſidents to their Neighbours; could not endure that the proud *Babylonian* ſhould commerce with them; nor the diſ-paſſionate *Theban* to converſe with him; nor the covetous *Tyrian* to trucke or traffick with him; nor the riotous *Sydonian* to take repaſt with him; nor the ſorcerous *Ægyptian* (who was no leſſe blacke in ſuperſtition than he was of complexion) to conſort with him.

Their ancient *Manners* they reteined; which not obſerved, they ever feared, that their State (as they had exemplarily ſeene in others) might be enfeebled. Thirdly

Thirdly and laſtly, touching *Habit*, (a ſmall thing may ſome ſuppoſe to diſſolue the maine Fabricke of a mighty State) we ſhall finde what care and ſedulity ſome States haue vſed in reteining the ancient *Habit*, recommended to them by their Anceſtors. HABIT.

Darius having altered the faſhion of his blade, which vſed to be *Perſian*, into the forme of the *Macedonian*; in the yeare before he fought with *Alexander*, the Chaldees or Soothſayers prophecied, that into what faſhion as *Darius* had altered his Sword, it would become Ruler of *Perſia*. And the iſſue or concluſion ſeconded this prediction.

Semyramis commanded all to weare Tyars vpon their heads, and to put vpon them Womans apparell, to cover their effeminate parts. But this new effeminacy of *Habit* brought a ſpeedy ſubverſion to that State: For vpon the death of their Queene, whoſe imperiall mind affected nothing more then command, this their Womaniſh *Habit* brought them into contempt.

Thus haue the flouriſhingeſt Commonweales fallen to deſolation and diſſolution, their higheſt Spires ruinate, their Temples, with their Places of prophane adoration, defaced; nothing remaining to boaſt of, ſaue that they once were happy, once victorious. Yea, *Ingurth* himſelfe ſeemes to expreſſe the cauſe of *Romes* ruine; ſhewing how ſubject they were (even the purple Fathers, the reverent Benchers) to take bribes, and

Innovation in Government, manners, habit, occaſions of enfeebling a State.

Cauſes precedent directors to the events.

receiue oyntments, wch would close their mouths for speaking in the Common-weales behalfe. For when he was complained of vnto the Senat, for the murder of *Hyempsall*: and the Senat having then government over *Numidia* in chiefe; which Realme (as others) was tributary to them, commanded *Iugurth* to appeare before them vpon such a day; fully resolved to punish his insolencies. He so wrought by rewards, as their censure was not onely mittigated, but (as the Historian records) *Tanta commutatio incessit, vt ex maximâ invidiâ in gratiam & favorem nobilitatis* Iugurtha *veniret*. A strange Metamorphosis, when states were so soone changed, which portended a sudden change of their government, falling from so great glory, and eminence, to eternall obscurity.

Distinct proprieties in all Histories.

Many Histories of these natures there be, which depend vpon apt allusions, equally mixt with Discursiue, Morall, and Physicall: Discursiue to delight and tricke on the appetite, by a sweet variety; seeing the change of great states in a few Leaues; being a speech meerely documentall, to better our Liues, teach us what should be done, as well in private as publike. Physicall, in the character of severall natures, aptly accommodated to the Subject whereof we entreate. With what delight do we reade the divers inclinations of Princes? Here a *Catiline*, doing little, and speaking much: There a *Iugurth*, doing much, and speaking little. Here a *Philip* drunke, and in his drunkennesse raging against his foes: there an *A-*

Inclinations different in Princes.

lexander,

lexander, drunke too; but in his paſſion raging againſt his beſt friends. Here a *Cæſar*, then whom, none ever did more good to his followers: there a *Nero*, then whom, none more deſertleſſe to his followers. Here a working crafty wit, ſtirring up trifling rewards, to containe him in ſuſpence; inſtanced in *Tiberius*: there an affable mind, ſet out in threed-bare words, one that could never flatter; ſpecified in *Titus*.

Theſe ſeverall natures we may ſee, and marke what ſucceſſe they had: Some, the more thinking, the more not knowing what to thinke: yet to obſerue the worke of Heaven, ſeldome or never haue theſe ſuſpitious heads cauſe to reſt; but the more they ſuſpect, the more motiues they haue to ſuſpect: for this craft is alwayes hatefull, and procureth enemies: Subtill councels being odious vnto the world, and ſo diſ-favoured of God, that they are alwayes waited on, and attended with moſt vnproſperous ends. We ſhall ſee in prophane ſtories a maine diverſitie, even in the ſimpleſt and ſhalloweſt vnderſtandings; the ſubtilleſt ſconſes the meanes of their owne decay; as in *Sejanus*, who in the opinion of his owne worth grew in time, *Ferox ſceleris*: Such aſpiring ſpirits be (for the moſt part) vſed like Sponges, wet with their ſpoyles and extortions, with which being a long time ſoaked, they are at laſt cruſhed and condemned, that their long-gathered wealth might returne to the Princes Coffers. *Trajan* vſed to call the Treaſury or Exchequer (by way of compariſon) the *Spleane*, becauſe it

An obſervation worthy our note. Subtill Councels ever produce vnproſperous ends: And to their Counſellours popular hate. Vertue ever attended with a proſperous end.

Policy her owne ruine, exemplified.

increasing, brings to all the other parts a pining.

☞ The misery of Ambition.

What Various Occurrents, nay fearefull and vnexpected Disasters haue ever beene the attending feares of ambitious Spirits; No Historie but can beare witnesse. How safe and secure haue many lived; Free from feares within, and Foes without; Retired from the Concourse of litigious Plaintiffs; Clamour of Courts; Heate of Corrivals: Nay, whatsoever else might breed their disquiet? Yet see the misery of Ambition! On they must, be it to their ruine. Examples they find store to caution them; precepts both divine and morall to informe them. Yet neither can the former worke any impression on them; nor the latter by more easie perswasions waine them.

Commines reports, how *Charles* the third, vnder whom he so long time served, communicating himselfe so freely both in matters of advice and action for the advancing of his service; was ever casting in his mind after businesse of greatest difficulty; „Yea such, perhaps, saith he, „ as exceeded the abilities of man.

This was a strange disposition; And yet we shall meete with many of this nature, both in the course of our Reading and Living. We shall obserue some, who, though they haue a faire-bet path to walke in, yet will they leaue the tracke, and make the Wall or some other high Mount their Walke. So fares it with these, who had rather fish in Troubled Waters, then when they are Calme. No Night so darke; no perill so fatally

tally imminent: But with cheerefulneſſe they will attempt, what their inconſiderate boldneſſe pompts them to. Nor is this their forwardneſſe forc'd out of want; For many of theſe abound in all fulneſſe; rich in fortunes; Strong in followers: Yet miſerable in both theſe. For as their fortunes feed their followers: So doe their followers feed on them. Theſe Faunes are they, who make Fooles of their Maſters; And by throwing out ſtrange lures, miſerably ſeaze on them. The daring *D' Ambois*, and that braue *Byroun* were Spirits of this temper. Great enough in Princes favour; loaden ſufficiently with honour; onely vnhappy in this, in that they knew not their owne happineſſe: Miſerable, in that they had never taſted miſery.

It is well obſerved by one, in his Diſcourſe of this Subject; that of all frenzies, there is none that madds man more then Ambition. It makes him thinke he walks altogether inviſible; *Ixion* was never more deceiu'd with a Cloud, then he is with his diſguiſe.

There is one thing more in it; this madding fancy, or raving frenzy is of that nature, as no friend can be ſecure, ſo his fall may purchaſe their aime. *Clitus* Conſtancy cannot ſecure him, when Ambitious heate mixt with Wine, egges on his Maſter to an indeliberate revenge.

Yet ſee the juſt doome of theſe! Who, as they build their plottes vpon vnſure Grounds; Or, which is of all others hatefull'ſt, becauſe to themſelues in their paſſage hence the heavieſt, on

blood; Which is never ſhed in vaine: So are they to receiue, what their deluded greatneſſe made them belieue they could never ſuffer.

Greatneſſe can be no Subterfuge to guiltineſſe.

Then, and never till then, are they brought to acknowledge, that a greatneſſe can be no Subterfuge to guiltineſſe. Then muſt that veile, which had ſo long ſhrowded them from the ſight of men, be removed; their princely perſons with their vnprincely actions diſcovered and paralel'd. So poore a Support is *painted Clay* to build vpon.

Nor be theſe Ambitious Spirits onely heere to be taxed; who, though they fall, they fly faire: But ſuch, who abuſe that place to which their *Princes* favour hath raiſed them; by baſe mercenary wayes. Theſe are they who play the *Sharkes* vnder the hatches. Not a petition muſt be preſented, but it muſt be guilded. As for their owne Suites, they little care how they worke vpon the Spirit of the State; how they diſcourage the peoples juſt indeavours; how they increaſe the Widdowes teares, aggravate the Orphans wrongs, and multiply their abuſes to maintaine their Surfets. Or if parcimonious, how they enrich their owne Coffers with others Curſes. For theſe, I would haue them made *Spunges* of; that as they ſuckt and milkt the Loweſt, ſo they might be ſoakt and mulc't by the Higheſt.

Vnconſcionable Prolleis ſhould be made Sponges of, for example of others.

The ſimple (or innocently-imagining Statiſt) comes ever to an expected end in his hopes; as they are not great, ſo not ſubject to ſo great an Eclypſe:

Eclypſe: yea, the hopes of theſe men attaine ſometimes ends aboue expectance: Such was *Helvius Pertinax* his ſucceſſe, who (never aiming at the Title of *Emperour*) was crowned when he was from thoughts of Titulary honour moſt ſequeſtred: *Repugnanſque ſuſcipiens*, vſing a kinde of withſtanding ere he would entertaine ſo great a weight. And in all Hiſtories, if we obſerue the divers occurrents which befell men in great and eminent places, we ſhall ſee ever the honeſteſt purpoſes ſeconded with the happieſt events; and the diſproportion of the end ever ſorting with the diſcordance of the mind: for the intention is diſcuſſed by Him that layeth the foundation of all Empires in duſt at his pleaſure: breathing ever vpon the ſincere purpoſes of the good, and confounding the deepe deſignes (vpon what pretence ſoever grounded) of the evill.

In Mixt Hiſtories (as the Scope whereat they aime) is mixed part with profit, and part with delight, to make the Diſcourſe more compleat: So ſhould the ſeriouſneſſe of the Subject attract a kinde of Majeſty to it; for impoſſible it is, either with trimneſſe of words, propriety of aptly-annexed, and duly-applied ſentences, or any other elegancy whatſoever, to make a Subject (of it ſelfe light and frivolous) beare the portray of State: For words (if well applyed) illuſtrate and adde a beauty, but not any way better the weight of the matter.

What Subject beſt concords with mixt Hiſtories.

There be three things which be eſpecially required

Three things necessarily required in Histories of this nature.

quired in Hiſtories of this nature, to make them perfect: firſt Truth, in ſincerely relating, without having any thing (as *Tacitus* obſerveth) *hauſtum ex vano*, foyſted in by our owne invention, to ſmooth the paſſage of our ſtory.

Secondly, an Explanation in diſcovering, not onely the ſequels of things, but alſo the cauſes and reaſons drawing to the concluſions.

Thirdly, Iudgement in diſtinguiſhing things by approving the beſt, and diſallowing the contrary.

Hiſtories ſhould be true

For the firſt, Stories ſhould be true, or at leaſt reſemble truth, becauſe by ſo much, they are more pleaſing, by how much they reſemble truth the neerer; and ſo much more gracefull, by how much more probable and leſſe doubtfull. We haue many Hiſtories (even of this kind) mixed, that comprehend in them nothing leſſe then truth: yet by their ſmooth carriage, and their proper circumſtances with ſuch aptneſſe drained and diſpoſed, they haue beene taken for truth, and regiſtred amongſt Workes of more ſerious conſequence.

☞ Such were thoſe *Apologæ Fabulæ* (whereof we haue in part ſpoken before) which contained in them many pithy and graue ſentences, and worthy obſervation in the excellent'ſt Morall: theſe are fitly called by *Tully*, *Mirrors of Mans life, Paternes of Manners, and Images of truth.* Their neere reſemblance of truth, made the Reader more attentiue, ſubjecting his eare to Diſcourſes probable, more then to things ſurpaſſing the bounds

bounds and limits of beliefe; as producing vnheard-of miracles (meere conceptions of the braine) phanaticke Chymeras: A Gyant immured in a Rocke, yet able to pierce it through; winne a whole Monarchy with his owne ſingle hands; leade a multitude of Kings captiues, and returne home without a wound. Here ſtrange Inchaunted Caſtles, Ladies and Knights detained in moſt baſe ſeruitude by an Airy Monſter: there admirable victories purchaſed vpon incredible oddes: and the rather to be believed, becauſe it pleaſeth the Painter ſo to delineate their vertues.

Improbabilities in all Hiſtoricall paſſages, highly condemned.

Theſe relations, as they proceed for moſt part from a conceipt, whoſe wits are long ſince gone a Wool-gathering; ſo to any ſerious judgement they become ſo meerely ridiculous, as they are hiſſed at by the peruſer, howſoever they ſeeme to receiue entertainement by the vulgar. For I haue formerly obſerved, to deſcribe the winning of a Fort, before the approach of a Foe; Or the razing of a Citty, without diſcovery of any apparant Enmity, perplexeth the vnderſtanding; and leaues the Conceipt intangled. An orderly proceeding in arguments of this nature, deſerve beſt approvement: For the ignorance or want of obſervance of Order diſtracts the Conceipt, and makes whatſoever is read, tedious to the Reader.

In this, *Vitruvius* merits high praiſe. His writings are faire and formall; Hee firſt lieth Siedge; then he proceeds to Occaſionall Trea-

ties: next, he lyes downe the reaſons either of accepting or rejecting what is propounded. Not an improbability will he admit of, leaſt it ſhould impaire the credit of his Hiſtory.

In thoſe Warres betwixt old *Aſtiages* and his Grand-child *Cyrus*; wherein much Civill blood was ſhed, before the Empire of the *Medes* was reduced to a *Perſian* State; Such principall Allyes as came on in defence of *Aſtiages*, after their defeate, became ingaged to the like hazard. *Aſtiages* did not onely ſuffer, but thoſe alſo who came to his ſuccour. He then, that ſhould in any weake hiſtoricall relation, averre, that the ſole ground of *Cyrus* his incurſion into *Lydia*, was the deſire he had to ſeaze vpon *Cræſus* treaſure, rather then any preceeding diſpleaſure, ſhould faile much in the truſt of a Relater.

Not *Cræſus* treaſure, but a precedent diſpleaſure cauſed victorious *Cyrus* to invade *Lydia*.

For our antient Hiſtorians deſcribing the firſt occaſionall grounds of all thoſe fatall differences; report, how that *Lydian* King, vpon a long league of amity continued betwixt them, or ſome other propoſitions of reward for ſo neceſſitated a curt'ſie, addreſſed himſelfe with a ſtrong Army for his defence. Yet, by the martiall and experienc'd power of the *Perſians*, who were expert Slingers, and of ſtrong tempers, able to endure any labour; *Cyrus* became victorious; his Enemies, Subjects of his Triumph. Which exploit hee had no ſooner atchieved, then he turned his Sword vpon ſuch as had beene Aſſiſtants to the adverſe part. Wherein, as *Cræſus* had ſhowne himſelfe moſt forward,

ſo

ſo he was one of the firſt that he aſſaulted. Then, and never till then, and for no other was this acted then; came the treaſures of that rich Prince to be ſurprized; his princely Pallace to be ranſacked; his ſumptuous Wardroabe diſroabed: and he himſelfe expoſed to the extreameſt Cenſure of a commanding Conquerour. Though *Cyrus* Clemency, vpon that ſerious conſideration of humane inconſtancy, pardon'd him his life, and made him his Homager in his owne Kingdome.

The like might be inſtanced in thoſe Civill Warres betwixt *Caeſar* and *Pompey*. Though the victorious *Caeſar* had got the day, and made himſelfe happy in the acquiſition of a donbtfull victory; his ambition became not ſo confin'd; nor his hate ſo attemper'd; as to ſtay there. Such, who had vſed their beſt endeavours in defence of his Enemy, muſt feele the heavie hand of his Soveraignty. Though ſome, who were neerely allyed to his diſcomfitted Foe, or held integrious Members of the *Romane* State, were received with a graceſull Countenance: Yea, and advanc'd to vnexpected honours, vpon their ſubmiſſion to his innovated Government.

Great was the delight which that *Vniverſall Monarch* of the World conceived in the *Brachmans*: highly, likewiſe, was he taken with the anſwers of thoſe *Indian* Oracles; the ſtrangeneſſe whereof might beget an *Improbability*, were not the Surveyor his owne Relator: but diſcourſing of every Circumſtance that might any way

enliven the Survey of thoſe parts: He expreſſeth in a modeſt Majeſtick Stile what he had ſeene or heard: not deriving theſe from others report, but from his owne perſonall knowledge.

This may appeare in thoſe diſcoveries which he ſo freely communicates in a Letter to *Ariſtotle* his Maſter: where, amongſt other memorable Sights, he tells him how he had ſeene thoſe two Trees conſecrated to the *Sunne* and *Moone*, with their Oracular diſcourſe to him.

The firſt Report of the ſtrangeneſſe of theſe, no doubt, made him retire a little from Martiall affaires, and to take breath a while, that he might more fully obſerue their occult natures and effects. For at ſuch time, as this Spreading Commander came into thoſe parts, the Inhabitants there related to him the incredible power of thoſe Trees in this manner. „ Thou ſhalt ſee „ (ſaid they) what King ſoever thou bee, two „ Trees of the *Sunne* and *Moone*, ſpeaking both „ the Indian and Greeke tongues; The one „ whereof being a Maſculine Oake, is conſecra- „ ted to the *Sunne*: The other Feminine, is dedi- „ cated to the *Moone*: and by theſe ſhalt thou know what good or evill ſoever ſhall befall thee. This ſaid, the *Prieſt*, to whom, any one that intended to enter that Sacred Caue, as they eſteem'd it, were to repaire, told him; That if he were free from the *Vſe* or *knowledge* of *Women*, he might enter that *holy place*. And ſayes *Alexander*, „ I obeyed the man in all things, as was fit- „ ting to conforme my ſelfe to a religious Ob-

ſervation

„ ſervation. Which done, the *Prieſt* expected „ when the *Sunne* would ſet. In which attendance, I carried along with mee my three faithfull friends, *Perdiccas*, *Clitus*, and *Philotas*.

Now in this Hiſtoricall *Progreſſion*, you ſhall heare what *Alexander*, by way of conſultation „ demands of the Oracle. „ I thought in my mind „ (ſaith he) to inquire whether having conque„ red the whole World, I might in *triumph* re„ turne into my Countrey, to my Mother *O„ lympia* and my loving Siſters? Then ſuddenly in the Indian Tongue, and in a ſmall voyce the Tree anſwered: "Invincible in Warre ſhalt thou be, „ *Alexander*; according to thy demand, the Sole „ *Lord* of the whole world, but returne alive „ thou ſhalt not into thine owne Countrey. So „ haue the Deſtinies decreed touching thy *life*.

After this, *Alexander* deſcends to ſpeake of the Tree ſacred to the *Moone*. Which (ſaith he) at the very firſt riſing of the *Moone* being ſummoned by an horne, having received her full light, anſwered in the Greeke tongue after this ſort. „ *Alexander* (ſaid it) as yet thou haſt not „ *approched* the full end of thine age, but the next „ yeare in the Moneth of *May* thou ſhalt dye in „ *Babylon*. *By him* ſhalt thou be deceived, whom „ thou leaſt ſuſpected.

After all this (though little beſeeming ſo virile a *Spirit*) he ſpeakes of thoſe teares he ſhed, after theſe Oracular Trees had divined theſe things.

„ Then I wept (ſaith he) and my friends who

„ ſtood about me; wept with me, without guile „ or ſubtilty, being ready to dye for my ſafety. But little moved theſe gentle teares, thoſe Gentile Gods: " for the *Prieſt* (ſaith he) adviſed us to „ depart thence, becauſe (quoth he) you offend „ theſe *Holy Trees* with your weeping and how„ ling.

Theſe relations haue we inſerted, that it may appeare how thoſe things which of themſelves may otherwiſe ſeeme *improbable*, being onely reported from the mouth of others; receiue ſufficient authority by ſo princely a Teſtimony; being confirmed by his owne Eyes and Eares, and committed to memory for authentick and vndoubted truth.

Whereas, others there be of a different nature; who make the whole body of their diſcourſe an indiſpoſed heape of rubbiſh, or immateriall matter: with a purpoſe to vend ſuch vnauthoriz'd ſtuffe to delude a weake conceipt; who uſually reades what is done, but never deliberately collects how this may be probably or poſſibly done.

We read of a people called *Acephaloi*, and theſe haue no heads: and of this ranke are all theſe *improbable* Relaters. Who, as they are *Acephaliſts*, and without a founder: So are they *Apodes*, and without a Supporter.

Theſe are not much vnlike to indiſcreet Actors, who no leſſe vnſeaſonably then improperly, make choice both at that time and of that place to preſent their merriments, when and where Tragick paſſages ſhould be perſonated. Or like our too ſecure

cure

cure *Architectiſts*, who contriving how to make their houſe moſt for ſtrength, to barre all hope of entrance to their Foes, build on ſtill, but forget to make a door to giue admittance to their friends.

But of theſe erronious ſtories there be ſome obſerve no method, planting an *Arcadie* in a *Brittanie*. as if by ſome ſuper-naturall accident there were a tranſplantatiō of Regions, or ſome Earth quake in the Authors braine, whence this immane Coloſſe of an irregular Diſcourſe proceeded. Which ſtrange repreſentatiōs be not vnlike to your Lanskip; where vpon the ſea, whatſoever we ſee by land, ſeemes in our ſaile to go with us: Even ſo do theſe vain Hiſtorians make ſtrange obiects vnto us of places impoſſible, tranſiting whole Countries to make an impoliſhed ſtraine of paſtoral muſick (one good Bell-weather in his Paſture would make as perfect harmōy) ſound wel in a Clownes eare.

Abſurdities in Hiſtorians of our time.

To be ſhort, my opinion poſitiuely is this: That Hiſtorian wch can joyne profit with a modeſt delight together in one body or frame of one vnited diſcourſe, grounding his ſtory vpon an eſſentiall truth, deſerves the firſt & principall place: and he who (vpō a feigned diſcourſe) can proportiō it to a likeneſſe of truth, merits ỹ next. As for him that (like one of Duke *Humphreyes* Knights) obſerves neither meane nor meaſure, but gorge their owne inſatiate appetites with full meſſes of vntruths (without probability) ſhould be dealt withall, as that wandring *Italian* Squire was vſed, for his monſtruous lying: toſt in a Blanket, till his erring ſpirit by ſuffumigations, or ſome ſuch like means, wee canvaſed out of him.

Great

Great blemiſhes theſe be to ſo reputed a Profeſſion, aiming neither at profit nor modeſt delight, but imitating your Mercenary Actors, ſpurt out ſome obſcæne jeaſt to make a prophane Rogue applaud him: and ſure, if the ſtrict doome and cenſure of baniſhment, were to be inflicted vpon any kinde of learning, rather ſhould it be pronounced againſt ſuch as theſe then any. The Pagans haue abhorred them, and much more odious ſhould they bee in a Chriſtian Commonwealth, where vertue ſhould be the ſcope of all our actions.

They are like ſome Comœdies wee read now a dayes; The firſt Act whereof is in *Aſia*, the next in *Affrica*, the third in *Europa*, the fourth in *America*: and if *Ptolomæus* or *Marcus Paulus* had found out a fifth part of the world, no queſtion but it had beene repreſented on their vniuerſall Stage. Such as theſe ought to haue ſome diſtinct language, *Vtopian*, or ſome other grunting tongue engroſſed to themſelues: For they ſhould profit more, by being leſſe vnderſtood. Much they ſpeake of valour, and many imaginary *Heroes* are pitching their Pavillions; But I will take my leaue of them with my French Proverbe: *Beaucoup de bruit, à peu de fruict*: Much bruit, but little fruit: Battels more fierce (by report) then *Alcazors*: That was but Kings, their's Giants: and one of thoſe Giants as able to vanquiſh all thoſe Kings, as for *Milo* to carry his Bull on his ſhoulders.

For the ſecond: There ſhould be an explanation

on in diſcovery of the cauſes, with a direct and graduall proceeding to the ſequels: As thus, in deſcription of a ſolemne Iuſt, or Tournament, it is neceſſary for the Hiſtorian to ſhow the cauſe why ſuch Solemnities were inſtituted. I doe know many things there be in Diſcourſes, which may be as well implyed as inſerted; But in Feſtivals, ſolemne Games, events of Duello's, or publicke Trials: The cauſes forcing ſhould and ought to be as well decyphered, as the ends ſucceeding. How ſhould we haue knowne of the vniting of the *Sabines* with the *Romanes*, or the occaſion of their Marrying together, but by thoſe diſſembled Feaſts ordained by *Romulus*, to bring his purpoſe to effect: The circumſtances of which feaſt (are with a certaine concordancy) amongſt moſt of the *Romane* Writers agreed on; ſtanding (though with too nice preciſeneſſe, I confeſſe) vpon the place, occaſion, and houre of the day, with ſuch a liuely Tranſcription, as if the *Sabine* Rape had beene committed in their time.

Explanation in diſcovery of cauſes.

The like we reade of the deſtruction and vtter ſubverſion of the *Gabians*, in the time of *Tarquin Superbus*: The generall vnion of Hiſtorians, about the time, place, and occaſion, ſo concordantly jumping, as if all thoſe proceedings (as well in the Stratagems by *Tarquins* youngeſt Sonne, as the very Contents of that Letter writ by the Father to his Sonne, for the management of this exploit) had bene ſet downe by one penne.

Vid. Trall. intituled, the Gabian *Overthrow*.

A concord in circumſtances amongſt Hiſtorians.

The like harmony of Hiſtorians in their Rela-

The harmony of Historians in their Relations; though writ in severall ages.

tions, though writ in severall ages; may be gathered from the *Annals* both of antient and our more moderne Authors.

Those long continued Warres betwixt the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, with what agreement and concordancy even in every Circumstance, are they delivered? No Land-exploit but expressed to life as it was acted; and so fully presented, as Succeeding times received them for infallible Records.

That tenne yeares Siege of *Troy*; where so many designes were attempted; so many bloody Stratagems devised; where strength and policy equally contended: while nothing was unassayed, whereby so deepe a blemish or staine of dishonour done to a warlike Nation might be revenged: what joynt union or harmony holds it amongst most Authors, who have enlarged themselves upon that Subject?

This might be instanced in *Dares Phrygius* himselfe; one personally imployed in that Service, and writ afterwards whatsoever had hapned during that heavie fatall Siege.

Nor was it held sufficient to these, onely to describe the fearefull Events of those calamitous Warres; but the Grounds and Origenes of them. How their first hate begun; how increased; and by what Offices made implacable. Heere is *Paris* portrayed; how he became enamoured; how in his wanton suite enterrained; how after *Helens* consent to a licentious assault, her conveyance is practised; the voyage accommodated; and the very

very Ship, wherein theſe two luſtfull Lovers were imbarked, deſcribed. Where you ſhall find *Phereclus*, that curious Carpenter of *Troy*, preparing that fatall Ship, wherein *Helen* was ſtolne away by *Paris*.

Then, you ſhall heare what entertainement old *Priam* giues to theſe two youthfull Saylers after their arrivall. What Feaſts are ſolemnized; what Sumptuous Triumphs prepared; and to what a wofull Cataſtrophe all theſe goodly Solemnities are converted. Then, what Embaſſies are ſent (before ever Warre was proclaimed) to re-demand *Helen*. Their peremptory anſwer to ſo juſt a demand.

Then, thoſe fearefull predictions of *Troyes* deſtruction. Yet behold the inevitable Fate of a declining State!

Neither could the juſtneſſe of their requeſt; nor thoſe Ominous fore-runners of their irreparable fall, divert them from an vnexpected ruine. Vnexpected indeed, for glorying in their owne ſtrength, and inclining to the importunacy of a Laſcivious youth; they denied to reſtore a light commodity, to ſaue their State from an enſuing miſery.

Yet in theſe, ſhall you find the Citty divided in opinion. Some held it fitting to reſtore, what they in Iuſtice did require. Others, and thoſe of the inconſiderateſt ranke, ſide with *Paris*: perſwading him to enjoy his ſtolne Fruite: to keepe her in deſpight of *Greece*:

and to triumph in such a booty, as surpassed nature in attractiue beauty.

Then, their recourse to the Oracle; the answers they received: Yet must *Helen* be still deteined; that lust may be revenged: and a perishing beauty with the losse of a perishing City, vnwillingly restored.

All these are with so harmonious a consent seconded, as if they had writ in one time; or one had dictated to another, whatsoever in that Theatre of sorrow had bene Acted.

The like in that Combat, or bloudy Banket, rather, of *Thomyris* her eldest sonne, and the *Persian Cyrus*, with such natiue descriptions of every circumstance; the River *Araxis*, the place of their passage, the reasons which moved *Thomyris* to suffer their passage, and the very plot where their Tents were pitcht, their dainty viands left for the *Scythian* surfet, in what sort prepared, and how insatiably desired by the *Scythian* Army, comming rather to feast then to fight: And then their defeate, being there vanquished, where they were most confident of victory.

In these explanations, the Reader should not be delayed, or frustrated too much in his hopes, by vnnecessary ambages; We should not trifle out the time in vaine and impertinent repetitions, it cloies and satiates the appetite too much: not vnlike to your great feasts, reserving the choysest dainties for the end, when the appetites of the Guests are satisfied before they come: It is a good frugall course, and includes an Oeconomicke

micke pollicy, their beſt diſhes may be preſerved for another time. He that diſcovers events and ſequels without their preceedent cauſes, is as one that would draw a River dry, without knowing whence the Spring is derived: applying the concluſions of things, as it pleaſed the *Ethnickes* in ancient time, to referre them to the arbiterment of Fortune; making ever this womaniſh argument: *The event was ſo, becauſe it was ſo; and it was ſo, becauſe Fate would haue it ſo*: anſwering *Titus* opinion, *Poteſtates fato dari*. But theſe which thus apply the courſe of all concluſions to Fortune, be as blind as Fortune: Nay, farre more; for though Fortune be blind, yet ſhe is not inviſible: But theſe men are not onely blind in the eye of common ſence, but inviſible in the compoſure of their owne Arguments; their Concluſions being as blind as themſelves.

Fortune is blind, how much more blind is he that will be t'ane by one that cannot ſee.

In making likewiſe our judgement of Hiſtories, and conſiderately applying it to our preſent intereſts, we muſt ſpecially regard the diſpoſitions of the Agents, and diligently remarke how they are affected in mind; this is the leaſt deceiving ground of forming opinion. By the nature of the Agent, conjecturall events or reaſons of events may be drawne: As if an ambitious man be imployed in Embaſſage twixt Prince and Prince, he is to be ſuſpected that his Treaty will be leſſe happy, in that his illimited paſſions oft-times, rather aggravate then allay cauſes of civill diſcord. Men of moderate diſpoſitions, purchaſe peace with leſſe adoe, & more ſucceſſe-

The event gathered by foregoing causes.

full; For Princes (ballancing their owne wrongs, to their apprehenſion inſupportable) cannot endure braving, but will rather try the extreameſt of Fortune, then be vnworthy of themſelves, by hearing and bearing affronts with patience.

Tanti eſſe exercitum quanti imperatorem. Luc. Flor. 2 lib.

The like we haue obſerved in the ſucceſſe of Warre; a wiſe and experienc't Leader, to haue accompliſhed great matters with a handfull of men; and that Aphoriſme to be very true: *Better is an Army of Harts, with a Lyon to their Leader, then an Army of Lyons, having an Hart to their Leader:* And contrariwiſe, the vnhappie events of moſt flouriſhing Empires, the miſerable ſlaughters of moſt puiſſant Armies, by the vnadviſed government of their Agents, or tyranny of their Regents, whoſe improvidence made much people vnfortunate: To ſee *Hannibal* once a Conquerour, becauſe his hopes were not ſeated on in direct meanes; and afterwards by his owne truculent diſpoſition, to become a prey to the conquered, makes this Aſſertion good.

☞

The indiſcretion of Commanders, the vtter ſubverſion of their deſignes.

No doubt, but the indiſcretion of Commanders, becomes the vtter ſubverſion of their deſignes. Where, we ſhall finde ſome more apt for command, then to be commanded; Others fitter to be commanded, then command. There may be alledged divers reaſons for this. Such, whoſe vnbounded Spirits are ever taken with high exploits, many times more boldly then wiſely, will not ſtick to expoſe their perſons to all perils; ſo they may haue the honour of the day; and beget a reverence

reverence in their Souldiers. Such as theſe, as I conceive, are fitter to receiue command from another, then to be Commanders of others. For a diſcreet Commander (as I haue formerly obſerved) is not to ingage his perſon in too deſperate attempts.

That commanding Regent of the World, was ſometimes highly cenſured for this: when in ſcaling of a Citty, hee would be ſo venterouſly bold as to mount firſt the Walls; but rather to haue the paſſage prepared, before he aſcended.

Beſides all this, divers Commanders there haue beene, who eying their owne power, and tranſported with their ſucceſſe; from Commanders of an Army, haue ſtruck at a *Monarchy*. *Sylla's* perpetuall Dictatorſhip implyed no leſſe ambition: nor *Sertorius* his keeping himſelfe aloofe from the State, leſſe aſpiring. High Spirits, puffed vp with the glory of their victories, are for moſt part ſo inclined. Thoſe tyes, wherein they ſtand ingaged to their Prince and Countrey, are ſleighted; the baſeneſſe of ingratitude they have no mind to thinke on. Ever are they expoſtulating with themſelves, what it is to be ſeazed of an abſolute Soveraignty, to be ſubject to none; to command all; to haue their Will their Law. To infranchiſe friends; confine Foes; To beſtow a new face on the State. Theſe are the flouriſhes, which ſo delude them, as neither the obedience they owe the State, nor the ſafety of their owne perſons may prevaile with

with them. Such as theſe are vnhappy agents for themſelues: for howſoever they ſeeme to gather head, and with factious Male-contents to fuell their vnproſperous ſtrength; they ever come home rewarded according to their deſerts. Faire pretences, as vindicating either publique or private wrongs, freeing the oppreſſed State from exactions, eaſing the injuried, and puniſhing the inſolent, receiue at firſt an eaſie impreſſion; but no ſooner ſhall their Complyes obſerve the indirectneſſe of their ends, then they fall from them, leaſt by cleaving too long to them, their greatneſſe faile them.

Theſe ſhowes pretended that haire-brain'd *Catiline*; who the better to bring them on, whom he ſought to joyne to him, by dividing them from the State, and ranking them with his owne; tills them on with faire promiſes of *New Tables, proſcriptions of the rich, magiſtracies, prieſt hoods, rapines, and rich booties, with all other things, that either Warre or the will of a Conquerour may any way tender.* Braue offers, if they were his to giue; but how ſoone did that Sunne which ſo fairely ſeem'd to ſhine, ſet in a Cloud to his ſhame?

Saluſt in Conjur. Catilin.

There is another Error too incident to a Commander; and that is in making himſelfe too familiar with his *Souldier.* The *Iewes*, during *Titus* his abode in *Iudea*, in perfitting that deſigne which his Father had begun, held that *Princes* mildneſſe to be ſlothfulneſſe; his clemency, a remiſſe ſecurity. Whereas hee, out of his princely humanity, pittied their preſent miſery. But

Clementiam imperatoris pro inertiâ ducebant.

this

this conceipt they retayned of *Titus*, (as may bee probably gathered) by reaſon of the *familiaritie* hee uſed to his Souldiers. Truth is, *Affabilitie* begets in Commanders a *Reverence*, but *Flamiliaritie Contempt*: for an affable compaſſion leaves many times a deeper impreſſion in a Souldiers heart, then any other booty or benefit.

The rare impreſſion of a compaſſionate diſpoſition.

Alexander, when hee had his Head-piece of water miniſtred unto him, would not drinke himſelfe, but offered it to his Souldiers; which could not chuſe but worke a ſtrange effect in them; when thirſt (held the extreameſt Suffering in Nature) could not ſo annoy him, but that the affection hee bare to his Souldiers wrought ſuch compaſſionate Effects in him, as he neglected himſelfe to refreſh them.

Cowardiſe likewiſe in a Commander clips his wings, that hee can never mount to a Conquerour. There is ever (ſaith ſententious *Saluſt*) moſt danger accompanying his fight, whoſe heart is moſt ſurpriz'd with feare. Whereas, Courage is a Countermure againſt all Aſſailants. Neither *Place* nor *Friend* can afford a *Shrowd*, where *Armes* cannot preſent a *Shield*.

Semper in prelio maximum eſt periculum, qui maximè timet. Audacia pro muto habetur. Neque locus, neque amicus quiſquam tegit, quem Arma non texerint. Saluſt. in Conjur. Cat.

Laſtly (to runne over all theſe curſorily) that pernicious baine to all humane brood, filthy *Avarice*, many times no leſſe prejudiceth the Regiment hee commands, then it ruines himſelfe, and brings a ſhamefull Deſeate to

his Deſignes : This felt *Manius Acilius* from the hand of *Mithridates*; when by receiving Bribes, hee lay a diſhonour on his Countrey, death to himſelfe, and to his dying Name a living Infamy.

Many Examples wee have of the like, where the nature of the Agent ill affected, croſſed not onely the ſucceſſe of hopefull deſignes, but buried their Names in oblivion; of ſuch I ſpeake, as have beene intereſted in the like adventures.

Contempt of Religion, the cauſe of Realmes ſubverſion.

As ſometimes where the Agents have beene neglectfull of Religion; depending more upon their owne proper reſolutions, then the power of Heaven directing all humane affaires to their appointed ends : As wee may reade in that memorable diſaſter of the *Romanes* at *Cannæ*, where the Conſull *Varro*, with a populous Army of experienc'd Souldiers, was utterly diſcomfited; and that (as the *Romane* Hiſtorians have obſerved) becauſe of *Iunoes* wrath conceived againſt *Varro*, for erecting (in deriſion of *Iupiters* Temple) a Mimick-boy to keepe watch, as the ſolemne order was.

This even the very Heathens haue obſerved,

The like of *Potitius*, detracting from the honour of *Hercules* : The like revenge inflicted on *Virilius* by *Æſculapius* : By *Iuno Lacinian*, on *Q. Fulv* : By *Proſerpine*, on *Plenimius* : By *Iupiter*, on that ſacriligious Tyrant *Dionyſius*: On *Alexander*, by *Ceres* : But wiſely prevented with the preſenting of a golden Goblet to *Apollo*, by the Pirate-Prince *Thymaſithius*.

Quia 'auream creteram Delphos perferendam curaſſet. Valer. Max. *Minutius in Octavio.*

Some-

Sometimes by the libidinous diſpoſition of the Governour, other ſometimes by his Avarice: now and then by his Impatience, and moſt of all by his reckleſneſſe, have the ſequels of things proved leſſe fortunate, becauſe the precedent motives, or inſtruments directing to the end, had no better likely-hoods in them.

Wee wonder not at all, to ſee troubled water come from an uncleere Spring: Nor at tares growing in the ſluggards field; but wee admire ſucceſſive ends, drawne from improbable cauſes. Many times there bee (I confeſſe) intrinſecall motives, which like, as that Beauty is the beſt which cannot bee expreſſed by the Painter, ſo arrogates it the chiefeſt place (that inwardly moving cauſe, I meane) becauſe, the efficient cauſe of cauſes, more ſure, more infallible then the evidenteſt demonſtration: And I have (for my part) ever ſuperſtitiouſly feared to bring ſuch cauſes in Queſtion: ſince ſuch Arguments have miniſtred no ſmall occaſion to the prophaner wits, both of Ancient and Moderne times, to boulſter their inſufficient opinions: As to argue thus: Heere we ſee a flouriſhing Common-weale, ſupporting her ſelfe by no other meanes then Iuſtice; reaching to as high a perfection in every degree, of as exact Government, as the blindneſſe of the time would permit: Yet this State (ſo flouriſhing) layd waſt by a people expoſed to all Impieties: Heere the end can hardly bee collected by the fore-going Cauſe. Equity was in

Such things as bee aboue us, be not to bee argued of us.

the conquered, Tyrannie in the Conquerour: Here is a maine diſcrepancy in the beginning, & concluſion; and the active cauſes ordinarily moving ſeeme (*Cardine Verſo*) to oppoſe themſelves. It is true; But tell me (whoſoever thou art) that *Lucian*-like compoſeſt this Argument: Is hee that ſets, and confounds, what Empires as beſt pleaſeth him, tyed to meanes, or ſecondary cauſes? There is no Realme which for ſome abuſe or other, hath not deſerved to looſe her glory; and herein doth the Majeſtick power of Heaven ſhew abundant mercy, to ſome Kingdomes in chaſtiſing them before they come to the heighth of ſinne, that there eclypſe of glory, might bee an increaſe unto them of vertue; their ebbe of Honour, an occaſion of acknowledgement of their Creator.

Kingdomes brought to acknowledgement by the taſte of miſeries.

For even in the beſt Common-weales, wee reade, that the experiment of ſome externall miſery or diſaſter, hath reduced them to more ripe conſideration of themſelves, and an exact ſearch in themſelves, diſcuſſing the cauſes of the Gods indignation againſt them. Preſent extremities are of that force to Humane bodies, that the preſent apprehenſion of their woe, ſeemes in ſome ſort to extenuate their pride, inflameth Religion, exciteth men to undertake a labour for the benefit of their Countrey (with the loſſe of themſelves) to appeaſe the wrath of the Gods. This was the cauſe why the *Romans*

mans uſed to have the gate of the Temple *Ianus* open in Warre, but ſhut in Peace: For Neceſſity (as well in theſe times as in Pagan times) uſeth to be the motiue of deuotion.

To inlarge which point, we may ſafely auouch, becauſe it agrees with the doctrine of the time; that *Sanctuaries* are never well frequented, but when danger approcheth. Calme Seas beget in the *Mariner* quiet ſleepes, ſtiffe knees, deepe healths. The *Husbandman* flyes to deuotion in a drought; that he may receiue Showers. Againe, after too much raine hee prayes for drought. But where's his Oblation, after he h'as receiued the benefit of his petition? Hee feedes on the *Acorne*, but never lookes to that *Tree* from whence it falls. Sanctuaries never well frequented, but when dangers approached.

In a great Plague or Mortality, what diuine Lectures, deuout Prayers, religious Faſts are every where commanded, and with what ſeemely obedience obſerued? But when the raine is paſt, the plague ceas't, God appeas't; we cloſe the Bleſſing with a prayer or two of Thankſgiving, and then returne to our former courſe of Living.

Sanctuaries are not to be ſo frequented; we are not onely to offer up our prayers in the time of danger, that we may be delivered; but continue our Thankſgivings after our delivery, that we may be hereafter preſerved.

Feare will ſupple the moſt inſenſible *Atheiſt*, and enforce him to prayer. If *Feſtus* heare but

Feare will supple the most insensible *Atheist*, and enforce him to prayer.

of *judgement*, he will tremble; if *Caligula* heare but the noise of Thunder, he will shudder: Or creepe under his bed (poore imperiall dust) to finde a shelter.

Wherein are we better, if onely feare of Gods judgements force us to prayer?

When Delinquents are had in pursuit, they flye (if opportunity be offered them) to the Temple; not to pray, but least they should become a *prey* to their pursuers: So it fares with most of us, when these *Pursivants* of The *Great Kings* (I meane his Iudgements) follow us at the heeles; how gladly would we haue the *Temple* open to receiueus; to avoide those judgements that pursue us? But that Delinquent is never truly penitent, who takes Sanctuarie onely for feare of punishment.

The Antients had their *Asyla*; their places of refuge to flye to in their distresse. Sanctuaries (as they styled them) these had; while one flyes to *Naxos*, another to *Lemnos*, this to *Paphos*, that to *Lesbos*. And high impiety was it held to hale any with violent hand from those Sacred places. Though these Sanctuaries by the policy of after-times, were held fitting to be suppressed, that the abuse of those immunities might be removed. Now to requite their Gods for their supposed delivery; there was no *Temple* to which they retired, but they offered some Present or other to that God, where-

whereto that *Temple* was dedicated. Nay, the very high-way-man, who made *Pillage* his vocation, *Rapine* his calling, would not be behind with his Offering. *Laverna* muſt haue his Sacrifice; hoping, if his actions ſhould come to the teſh, that thoſe thankfull Preſents would not be forgotten, but render him ſuccour in the time of danger.

Laverna atrium Latronum proſpexit in antrum.

Theſe may ſeeme to out-ſtrip us, though in divine knowledge Sphear'd below us. Theſe prayed and offered before they needed; Wee never till then when danger is viſibly imminent. Bee it our conſtant reſolve, when the doores of our materiall Temples are ſhut, to haue the doores of our Spirituall Temples open. Bee it our higheſt *prize* to offer up unto him the Sacrifice of a contrite heart, and diſtreaming Eyes; To whom both before and after our delivery, is to be aſcribed all praiſe.

Explanation of Cauſes, is an elucidary or exemplifying, as it were, of the matter whereon we entreate: *Happy* (ſaith the Poet) *is hee, that hath knowne, or doth know, the principall cauſes of things, as well preceedent as ſubſequent:* Events may be knowne (I confeſſe) without their cauſes, but ſo defectiue is that knowledge, as the Countrey Shep-heards prediction is of weather: His obſervances are Cauſeleſſe, becauſe Artleſſe; judging of the Cloud (by vſuall approbation) & making experiment his ground, without recourſe had to

Cauſes directories of events.

to Naturall cauſes: To ſhew the deſtruction of *Troy* by *Alcydes*, without explaining the perfidious dealing of *Laomedon*: or of *Troyes* ſecond ſubverſion, without the rape of *Helen*: or of *Romes* tranſlated Ariſtocracy, without relation made of thoſe civill Warres, planting *Cæſar* in his Monarchy; or of that ample and potent Empire of *Media* tranſlated to the *Perſians*, without the preceedent cauſes ariſing from the glory, and eternall renowne, of *Cyrus*; would make a confuſed Hiſtory, as if the former Chaos were reduced to her firſt indigeſtion: Cauſes are the Springs of Events.

A diſpoſition, yet not limited, an order yet not coacted, a meanes yet not enforced: *Qui enim (ſi voluit) omnia ſine mediis creare potuit, ea etiam ſine Mediis (ſi voluit) ſervare potuit.*

If we ſhould reade the divers effects of glory, the ſundry moving cauſes of perpetuall honour, amongſt the *Romanes*, we would admire them: Some having raiſed themſelves to an exceeding eminent pitch of greatneſſe, and that by as vnaccuſtomed meanes, *Selfe-affiance*, or *Confidence of their owne valour*, inſtanced in *One Scipio*: publiquely proclaiming: That, *Nothing was more generous then this Confidence, more infallible then Prediction, more powerfull then celerity in diſpatch, or more eminent then the dignity of the Perſon*: The like of *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Scipio Naſica*, *Furius Phylus*, *Luc. Craſſus*, *M. Scaurus*. And many others, whoſe greateſt fame was purchaſed by that meane, which uſeth to be the greateſt errour in humane ſociety; *Selfe-conceit of a mans owne deſer-*

Many Kingdomes much renowned, by that meanes, which makes them moſt debaſed: *Selfe-conceit.*

deſervings: Which, likewiſe, hath beene ruine to many populous and moſt puiſſant Empires. Then to divert our eye to an oppoſite of Conceit, and that is Modeſty, or a ſilent ſhadowing of their owne demerits: Excellent and memorable Examples whereof may bee produced out of *Valerius Maximus* in his 4th Booke, entreating of Modeſty: Where hee obſerves (by way of explanation) the meriting parts of many, whoſe reſolutions ſhadowed, made the luſtre of their Countrey more eminent. Theſe were ſuch, who cared little for divulging their owne fame, ſo they might by their Actions gaine their countrey renowne.

Likewiſe to deſcribe, the ſtrange, and unexpected riſing of ſome, *Qui poſteris fuere Nobilitatis initium, virtutis exemplum:* Borne of nothing; yet by ſome private endowments, either of inſinuating, as the ignoble wits: or of State-obſerving, as thoſe elated Natures, grieved (as it were) with the obſcurity of their Birth, in ſeeing others leſſe (it may bee) meritorious, aſcend the Throne of higheſt honours; poſſeſſe the eminenteſt places; in contempt and deſpite of Fortune, and humbleneſſe of Birth, crowde in the preſſe of the Honoured, if but for enobling their Countrey by their peculiar deſerts. This was objected againſt *Cicero*, which he as ſufficiently anſwered: *Satius eſt me meis rebus geſtis florere, quàm majorum opinioni niti.* Dependence of Anceſtors conferre ſmall or no glory to us, if our

Honour the beſt, when it is deriued from our ſelues.

ſucceeding worth ſhew not a correſpondency to our Predeceſſours glory. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Tullius Servius*, *Perpenna*, and *Terentius Varro*, and that mirror of Countries loue, *M. Portius Cato*: Their Births ignoble, yet they made their Cradles noble by their many deſerving parts; Characters of proper Nobility, not derived from their fathers greatneſſe, but from their owne eminence. Nor haue there wanted others who degenerated from their Anceſtors well-deſerved Liues: *Scipio Affrican*, his Countreyes honour, leaues n *Scipio* the Monument of his owne diſhonour: *Fabius Maximus*, a Sonne, for worthleſſe reſpect, deſerving the name of *Fabius Minimus*: *Claudius Pulcher* beautified with ornaments of mind, as well as body, makes his Countrey no leſſe hopeleſſe by his birth, then renowned by himſelfe. The like of *Hortenſius* his Nephew, one leaſt equalling ſo many deſerved parts of his thrice glorious Anceſtour: The one a profeſſed proſtitute to all licentious places, an arch-protector of Senſuality, having no other Clients, but noted Strumpets: The other a ſupporter of Equity, a reſiſter of indirect proceedings, a mirror of continence in his time; and one, ſecond to none, ſaue *Cicero*, in promptneſſe of Speech, and a preſent modeſtly-compoſed Eloquence. The like of *Choranius* a *Roman* Pretor, one of confirmed gravity and approved converſation; yet left he a Sonne expoſed to a prodi-

Degeneration.

gall

gall courſe, and of an unnaturall diſpoſition.

For Excellencies in this kinde, as many, no queſtion, have beene by the injurie of time obſcured, whoſe Names deſerved much honour: So ſome haue bene ſo highly beholden to the Commendation of time, as they received as much honour to the full, as they deſerved. For it were a rare and unexemplary Age, to finde all mens demerits equally ballanced.

The praiſe of ſuch, who raiſe a Family by their owne demerits.

Some have found fame breathing from thoſe Actions, which never expreſt worth: whileſt others, from exploits of higher worth, never received fame.

But to deſcend to the *praiſe* of ſuch who raiſe a Family by their owne demerits: The Ground of this advancement ariſeth generally frõ theſe three degrees: The *Gowne*, the *Sword*, or ſome *Mechanick Art*. For the firſt, becauſe that *Prince* of *Oratory* giues it *priority*, wee will ſpeake of *Gowne*: And of ſuch, as haue raiſed their Houſes from nothing, by excelling in Elegancy of Speech, manniging of judiciall Cauſes, and ſteering State-affaires; being held fit for their knowne abilities to be imployed that way.

M. *Cicero*.

GOWNE

Of this ſort, amongſt the *Athenians* we finde *Demoſthenes*, *Æſchines*, *Iſocrates* and *Lyſias*.

Amongſt the *Romans*, *Carbo*, *Lætus*, *Scipio Affricanus*, *Galba*, *Servius*, *Sulpitius*, *Cotta*, *Gracchus*, *M. Antonius*, *Craſſus*, *Cicero*, *Saluſtius*.

Emulation amongſt men of note.

Amongſt which there was ever ſome private Emulation: For Fame can endure no Corrivals. So as, their very publique pleadings

dings were not freed from their Chidings. *Demoſthenes* a plauſive and powerfull *Orator*, having beene twitted and bitterly reproved by *Æſchines* for delivering in his Orations certaine unuſuall words, anſwered him; *The fortunes of Greece depended not upon them.* One taxed another of *Effeminacy*; an other, his Oppoſite of too much *Singularity*; The third, his Corrivall of *Popularity*. Immoderate was the hate, unextinguiſhible the heate betwixt *Cicero* and *Saluſt*: So as, the one could not come into the preſence of the other without paſſion. For as they were unequall in their *deſcents*, ſo were they equally addreſt to entertaine all occaſions of *diſtaſt*.

ſive præſentiã ejus timens, ſeu irâ commotus.

Whence we may conclude, that Wits bearing one levell, doe ſeldome agree in the maine building. So as, that may ſerue for a *Maxim*, what the merry Critick ſometimes ſpake in jeaſt: „ A *Cat* with a *Mouſe*, Two *Cocks* to„ gether in one houſe, and two *Siſter-inlawes* „ together dwelling, can never liue without „ diſſention. No more, two Eminent wits in one *place*; but they muſt ſhew their Spirits either vpon the *By* or *Maine*. But to our former propoſition; if we ſhall but peruſe the Lives of many of thoſe eminent *Orators*, *Athenian & Roman pleaders*; wee ſhall find their beginnings obſcure; their Meanes of riſing ſmall; and for their outward parts weakely promiſing: yet, by their inward abilities they became a glory to their Countrey; a renowne

to

to themſelves and their ſurviving poſterity. This it was, that made *Ariſtotle*, that honour of *Stagyra*, ſo gracefull in the ſight of *Alexander*: who, as he had *Homer* in all reverence for his heroicall Compoſitions; So had he this *Stagyrian* for *Philoſophicall* Speculation. This it was, that made *Socrates* ſo deare to *Alcibiades*. This it was, that made the workes of *Zenophon* ſo familiar to *Affrican*. *Athenodorus* his Annals to *Octavian*. *Ioſephus* his incomparable Relations to *Conſtantine*.

Some of theſe, though they were not *Coætaneans* with theſe Princes, in living with them: yet were their workes, after their deceaſe, highly endeared and honoured by them.

But to adde one attribute more to the glory of thoſe famous *Orators* before expreſſed: their ſtrength and deſerving height of Spirit merited no leſſe approvement; when, in their Oppoſition to the greateſt Enemies of State, they ſtood conſtant for the liberty of their Countrey, and ſuppreſſing all ſuch (were they never ſo powerfull) as fiſhed in *troubled Waters*, or inclined to mutiny. So ready were their Tongues to defend by pleading; So ſtout were their Spirits to repreſſe Commotion: that as they delivered their minds by the one, So they were reſolved to Sacrifice their Lives, to manifeſt to the World that they were not defectiue in the other. In theſe times pleaded *Merit* in the Court of Iuſtice. Corruption was a ſtranger to the hand or heart of a Counſellour. Hee would not be ſeene in a Cauſe that would not beare weight; Nor in-

An Exemplary Leſſon for all *Ambi-dexters*.

tereſſe himſelfe in ought that might not conduce to the benefit of the State. Their juſt deſignes aymed neither at publique fame, nor private ſafety; directing the whole bent of their Councels to the improvement and ſecurity of their Countrey.

In that *Epitome* of *L. Florus* collected from *Titus Livius*, we ſhall reade what natiue Enmity was ever conceived againſt ſuch as corrupted juſtice, by people of all qualities: and this we ſhal find exemplifi'd in an Act of a Tragicall nature.

Bloody (ſayes the *Epitomizer* of that noble Hiſtory) was the ſlaughter which was made by the *Germans* upon their revolt from the *Roman Empire*, through the ſhady Woods and plaſhy mariſhes; nothing more intolerable then the inſultings of the *Barbarous*, ſpecially againſt the pleaders at the Barre, plucking out the eyes of ſome, and lopping off the hands of other ſome; One had his mouth ſtitcht up, after his tongue was firſt cut out, which the *Savage* Actor graſping in his hand, ſayd to it: *Thou viper, at laſt giue over hiſſing.* So did *M. Antonies* wife uſe *Tullies* tongue after his death, for pleading ſo boldly, and inveying ſo freely againſt her Husband in his life.

L. *Florus* l. 4. c. xij.

But theſe cruelties may be properly referred to the Savage diſpoſition of an inſulting people: Which, having got an uſurped Authority into their owne hand, runne in a licentious liberty, to commit all *Barbariſme*: puniſhing the Offender, before they ever examined the quality of his offence.

But

But to diſcourſe of the Civill government of the *Romans*, during their *Democracy*, as they were then Commanders of all neighbouring Nations: So they delighted in nothing more then advancing ſuch, who employed their tongues or penns in defence of the publique liberty: beſtowing not onely Titles on them, well ſuting their demerits; but preferments too, to recompence their Service. This might be inſtanced in the Eminentſt families that flouriſhed amongſt them in thoſe times. For ſo thankfull was that victorious State to deſerving men, as they held it not ſufficient to beſtow on them gracefull trophies & triumphs to honour them, living: but to erect Monuments in their *Statuaries* and *Pulvinars*, to their memory, dying.

The like honour conferred the *Athenians* upon their Conſuls, Orators and Philoſophers.

So the *Ephori* among the *Spartans* (being the ſame that the *Tribunes* were among the *Romans*) were elected not in reſpect of their deſcent but of their deſert: which made a flouriſhing State; ſeeing, there was none, were he never ſo ignoble by birth, but he received grace, if his inward abilities deſerved ſuch reſpect.

Nor were theſe meanes of advancement onely conferred on the *Gowne*; The *Martiallist* had his place as well as the *Mercuriſt*. Were hee never ſo meane a *Plebeian*, if hee deſerved honour; he was ſure to haue it. If hee SWORD.

he were the firſt that mounted the *Wall*, he had a *Coronet* reſerved for him. Were he the firſt that preſented himſelfe in the *Siege*; or in a ſingle Combat diſarmed, and ſo ſurprized any *Enemy*; or enter'd firſt the Enemies *Tent*; or in any Sea-fight enter'd his *Ship*; hee was ſure to receiue his Guerdon. And if the honour of his Actions deſerved any ſuch eminent reward, hee was to come home in *Triumph*, for the reputation he had done unto his Countrey. Where it was uſuall for thoſe Perſons, who were moſt eminent in the eye of the State to meet him in the way, and in all ſolemne and triumphant manner to conduct him to the Citty, with an ample relation of his fame, to beget a glorious enuy or emulation in his poſterity.

Many of meaneſt ranke, by the nobleneſſe of their Spirits attained this honour. The State made no inquiry after their deſcents. Thoſe they held worthieſt of honour, who acquired it by Learning or Valour.

Memorable is the reſolution of thoſe *Myſian* Captaines, who ſtepping out before the *Roman* Armie, pray'd ſilence, and ſaid; *Who are yee?* Anſwer was made; *Wee are Lords of the World.* They replide, *Yee may well ſay ſo, if you Conquer us.* What rewards were beſtowed on theſe for their approved Valour, we reade not in the Hiſtory; but no doubt ſuch deſerving Spirits could not in a Civill State liue ungratifi'de, nor dye unrecorded.

Hence

Hence it was, that *Hiero* that ſtout *Syracuſan*, would have dyed in the aſhes of his Country: ſo well deſerved he of it; it ſo well of him. Death was accounted a light ſuffering, to improve her her honour, from whom they had their being. They conceited of what weake Supporters, poore man ſtood; his breath, how ſoone vading; his glory, how ſoone declining: The whole Fabricke of his Fortunes, how ſoone ſhaking and ſhrinking. But Fame gain'd by glorious actions, they found to bee of more perpetuity. Nor could they eſteeme any action more truely deſerving, than that which requited her love, from whom themſelves and predeceſſors had received life. Yea, they conſidered what advancement they had received from an obſcure Family; how ſhould they then doe leſſe than embarke themſelves for all extreames, to requite the love of ſo endeared a Country?

Laſtly, many Families have raiſed their beginnings from *Mechanick* Arts, Sciences, and Myſteries. This may be quickly gathered by the names of ſome Romans aſwel as other Nations; who reteine to this day their appellations from their former Manuall profeſſions. As the Family of the Pictors, from Painters; of the Piſtors, from Bakers; of the Figuli, from Potters: with many others. And theſe in continuance of time, came to be eminent Families; drowning their firſt beginnings in the depth of their greatneſſe. MECHANICKS.

Yet in all thoſe *Liberall*, with theſe *Mechani-*

call Sciences; as there were thriving diſpoſitions to advance Families forth of duſt; So there were others, who even to duſt reduced their advanced Families. Some apt to improve themſelves forth of nothing, others no leſſe ready to bring their Fathers improvements to nothing.

In the inſcriptions of their Natures we include the cauſes of their ends; vertue being (as we ſaid before) ever ſeconded with event anſwerable to her intent, either in the beginning, middle, or end. And certainly, whoſoever ſhould but read the deſolations of the mightieſt Empires, or their riſing, ſhall ſee ſome appearance of cauſes proceeding from their government, occaſions of their glory, or ruine. Nor can we (without cauſe) admire the erection and eſtabliſhing of the *Turkiſh* Empire, her many dilated Provinces, extended Confines, and almoſt Soveraigne command in the Eaſterne parts: Let us but conſider their politick government, ſubjecting all Lawes of Conſcience, or Religion, to the furthering of their deſignes, planting their ſeat (maugre the fury of all opponents) in thoſe floury and ſpacious territories, where once the ſanctified feete of the ſacred Apoſtles uſed to tread. Yet in their policies (becauſe not proportionate to vertue) ſhall they bee ſubverted. They have erected themſelves to an exceeding height, (with the Gyants menacing the fabricke of heaven;) but their fall will be more miſerable, by how much they be of miſeries more incapable.

The wonderfull eſtabliſhing of the *Turkiſh* Empire.

pable. For that Kingdome which is not eſtabliſhed in peace, ſhall be ruined by warre; and where vertue had not her predominance, there ſhall the illimited rage of vice take her reſidence: and where ſhee is an inhabitant, there is imminent deſolation menaced. To make explanation of cauſes in this, were needleſſe, becauſe the Seate of ſuch a government is the occaſion of her fall; For ruine and extirpation have ever followed Impious Governours at the heeles. Yet in making uſe of this eſpeciall Branch of Hiſtory: *Explanation of the diſcovery of cauſes*, I will limit and reſtraine it to an aſſertaine bound. We muſt not ſearch cauſes above their Natures; there be many hidden and concealed reaſons, which to enquire after were unlawfull; much leſſe to wade into the ſecret conventions of that ſacred Power, from whom all viſible and apparant cauſes borrow their light.

Arguments of the approaching Subverſion of the *Turkiſh* State.

Concealed reaſons not to be ſearched.

What we may gather by authentick relation, or probable imagination, may without prejudice, or errour, be produced. As for ſupernaturall cauſes, the more we ſound them, the more we ſound into the ſhallowneſſe of our owne judgements; never further from apprehending them, than when we ſeeme to apprehend them.

This inſcrutable depth He well obſerved, who being demaunded *what God was*, required ſome time to reſolve that queſtion. And ſtill the longer he thought of it, the farther he was from it. So as, in the end he aſſoiled this demaund with a

☞ We are not to pry too curiouſly into the ſealed Cabinet of *Gods Counſell*.

new queſtion. "Friend, you have impoſed me "a taske, and I have ſtudied how to reſolve it: "And my deſire is to injoyne you an other, I "pray you aſſoile it. What is it, ſayd he? how "long would it be ere you ſhould draine the O-"cean dry with a Sive? Why? never, (ſayd he.) "Nor ſhall I ever (replied he) returne an anſwer "to your queſtion. I demaunded of you ſome "time, but an Eternity of time will never reſolve "it: being farther of at this time, then when I "firſt required time.

Apud Poetas Deorum Pharetræ Operculum habuere, humanæ non item. G. H. in Orat.

Our uſefullſt and beſt knowledge in theſe Divine Secrecies, conſiſts in the acknowledgment of our owne weakneſſe. We have many of our Artiſts ſome-thing too familiar with theſe privacies: prying too curiouſly into the Sealed Cabinet of Gods Councell. Sublunary things are too low Objects for their knowledge. They muſt ſhine in an higher Spheare.

That Sacred-Secret Conſiſtory is not to be ſearched (becauſe ſealed) with too much curioſity.

Theſe can poſitively ſpeake (as if inſpired with ſome extraordinary illumination) when the World ſhall be diſſolved. Nor ground they their aſſertions on conjectures (if you may beleeve them) all is apparent to them, as if they were preſented in a *perſpective glaſſe.*

Geometricians and Aſtrologers affirme, as thoſe who have meaſured *Hell*, *Earth*, and *Heaven* with their Dimenſions, Proportions, Poizes, and Aſtrolabes; that *Hell* containes in Compaſſe ſeaven thouſand, eight hundred and ſixty five thouſand Miles: In depth or Latitude, two thouſand, five hundred and five Miles: In diſtance from

from us, three thouſand, ſixe hundred and fifty eight miles. But the *World*, which we inhabit, that is, the whole Earth, they ſay it containes in greatneſſe thirty thouſand, and a thouſand five hundred Miles: and in Latitude or profundity, that is, from the *Antipodes* unto us, ten thouſand and twenty two Miles. Then, that the *Empyrean Heaven*, which is the place of the Bleſſed, they ſay it containes in compaſſe (*Dimmenſity!*) ten thouſand, three hundred and foureteene Millions, eighty five thouſand, and ſixe hundred ten miles: in depth or latitude, three thouſand ſixe hundred Millions of Miles. And betwixt us and this Heaven, in diſtance one thouſand ſixe hundred ninty Millions, nine hundred twenty five thouſand, and five hundred Miles.

But this may be ſuppoſed far above the compaſſe of their *Iacobs-ſtaffe*. Their eyes, I conceive, to be too weake to pierce into the Manſions of Heaven.

Non eſt familiaritas hominibus cum Cœlis. Plin.

Lower Dimenſions are fitter for the ſtrait circumference of their underſtanding.

The way to meaſure Heaven, is to decline from Earth; and to elevate our thoughts to that Cæleſtiall Spheare, where we may glorioully ſhine and Eternally reſt.

He is the beſt Aſtrologer, who converſeth more with Heaven in Spirituall affections, then inſtrumentall dimenſions: who becomes more familiar with Heaven, by his elevation of piercing thoughts, then prying eyes. This that learned *Euclid* well obſerved, when being aſked a ſaucy queſtion touching the Divine Preſence, by too

curious or inquisitive a Questionist, modestly answered: "*For other things I know but little, thus "much I know, that the Gods hate those that are "curious.*

Aug. This that Divine Father (the glory of the Easterne Church) with much spirituall zeale expressed, when being on a time asked; "*What God "did before he made the world*, answered him home: "*He was preparing Hell for such as Hee, "who too curiously pried into his Secrets.*

An excellent receipt for all such as labour of too much *singularity.* The only way to rectifie this Errour, is for man to descend into himselfe. For then upon acknowledgement of his owne vilenesse, he will let fall his Traine: humble himselfe in the consideration of his owne wants: and close his resolves with this conclusion: "Thus much I know, that I "know nothing: how then should I dare to aspire with too curious an eye, to looke into his "Secrets, who made all things of nothing?

Now to the third, that is, judgement in distinguishing things, by approving the best, and disallowing the contrary.

Dijudication of Histories. Dijudication of Histories, or judgement in distinguishing the approvedest, proceedes from a mature understanding.

In this Historicall Scale we must banish all lacivious and petulant wits, conversant about froathy and licentious obscenities. The Workes of an Historian should be Monuments of Antiquity, true Heralds of Acts; either prosperously, or insuccessively atchieved: and not foments to lust, inducements to sensuality. Two sorts there be which

which eclypſe an Hiſtorians glory: from the one we reape the harveſt of ſhame, where characters of *Myrrah*, and *Venus* (the wantons votaries) are deblazoned in their colours; yet in their deſcriptions more pernitious to eaſily-inclined youth, than ever *Archilochus* was to the *Spartan* dames. Poore *Albion* hath laboured too long of this impoſtume; ſuch Hiſtorians muſt either be exiled, or the Common-wealth muſt of neceſſity bee depraved. Vice hath too many ſupporters, without the furtherance of Authors. From the other, there redounds no other benefit, than impertinent inquiſitions of ſtrangely-ſought out Antiquities; ſo preciſe in deſcription, ſo curious in foundation, and ſo ſelfe-opinionate of their owne writings, as they oft-times doe onely (*Haerere in verbis*) omitting the Subſtance to ſet out (with *Phydias*) the ſhadow: ſearch of a fruitleſſe Antiquity, occaſioning a contempt in the body of the Hiſtory. As in the foundation of a City, neglecting the materialleſt parts of the diſcourſe; as upon what occaſion the City was rather erected there, than in another place; by what meanes it was augmented, how continued; and other neceſſary circumſtances omitted; they inſiſt upon affaires of leſſe conſequence: finding out where the firſt ſtone was laid, when the foundation of ſuch a City was digged. This cauſes oftentimes great Volumes, with ſmall benefit to the Reader; and indeede rather implies an affecting-opinion in the Author, of pleaſing himſelfe, than others.

Two ſorts of Diſcourſes eclipſing the glory of an Hiſtorian.

1. Senſuality.

2. Impertinency.

Ancient

Ancient Records are neceſſarily inſerted in Hiſtories; but ſuch are to be ſupported by truth, including a neceſſary relation to the Subject whereof he intreats. Otherwiſe, ſuch Antiquities (as for ſelfe-pleaſing) are produced, expreſſe nothing. *Prater plebeium & inutilem quendam opinionis ſuccum.* Theſe be rather opinioniſts than Hiſtorians.

Theſe two kindes (like *Ianus* face) ſtand contrary-waies: the one ſort (to wit the firſt) are *Charons* beſt Factors, they trafficke for a Ladies bonvoyage to hell; theres not a line in all their writings, that taſtes of modeſty, or reliſh of vertue: If *Pluto* and his Angels had not one ſhe-Prophet, nor State-moppet within all his dominions, to make his Empire Noble: yet theſe Brothell-Authors (for better I cannot name them) would by their Lime-twigges, furniſh his (*Malaſperanza*) with a full ſaile. My Lady here ſits and reads wonders at the ingenuity of the man, (a pregnant youth doubtleſſe,) and will make her *pregnant* too, if ſhee have any moving faculty in her; his beſt character is the Schoole-maſter of folly, the introducer of ſenſuall liberty, extinguiſher of pure love, experienced inſtructer to luſt, harbourer of illimited deſires; and conſequently harbenger to the Divell. As the *Martin* will not build, but in faire houſes, ſo this man will not live, but in the ruines of honour: he is too converſant in the Court, too familiar in the City, and ſometimes too willingly entertained in the Countrey. His Penne, as it is mercinary, ſo his labours

labours pernitious; his ſtate labours of penury (and he would raiſe it) his ſoule of a Lethargy, but ſeekes not to redeeme it. To be briefe (for ſuch a Subject is not worthy dilating on;) As *Auguſtus* baniſhed *Naſo* to *Naxos*, and his depraved workes to the darkeſt corner of his ſtudy: ſo ſhould theſe petulant Wits be expulſed every well-governed, Common-weale; and their proſtitute Labours ſuſtaine *Eupolis* cenſure.

How highly other States have ſuffered in giving too much liberty to theſe unſeaſoned wits, might be amply enlarged, if our preſent diſcourſe requir'd it. No doubt but *Rome*, even in her higheſt glory, when nothing but Succeſſe breathed on her attempts abroad, and private affaires at home: Then, and never more than at that time, were light and wanton workes, which a civill Eſtate ſhould have proſcribed, highly honoured, the Authors of thoſe Motives to effeminacy advanced; whereas, if their *Cenſors* had duely intended their charge, they would have held them fitting to have beene exiled, their workes to fire committed. So might that corruption of manners, which proceedes oftimes from ſuch vicious Pamphletters, have beene prevented: and Morality better obſerved.

☞ Light & wanton works are to be exiled in every Civill State.

But why ſhould we looke ſo farre backe, when we labour of the like malady at home? what high Patrons have preſent ages found for lighteſt Labours? where ſuch as corrupted

youth, received more approvement, then those who corrected the looseneſſe of affections.

It was a good Cuſtome, when ſuch Authors as publiſhed any Workes, had them not onely cenſoriouſly peruſed and ſcanned; but if it appeared, that they contayned in them more occaſions of prejudice to the State then benefit; thoſe Workes were not onely to be ſuppreſſed, but the Compoſers of them duly cenſured.

Their manner of proceeding was thus: Such paſſages as were uſefull, or any way beneficiall, were in papers piece-meale, layd upon one pile: Thoſe which were noxious or malignant, beſtowed on an other pile: and both theſe put in two Scales: where if thoſe of the right hand-pile (which ever conduced to the improvement of the State) weighed downe thoſe papers which were on the left-hand pile, their Labours were permitted to paſſe, and their Authors, according to the quality of that Subject, whereof they wrote, amply rewarded: If otherwiſe, their Workes were ſuppreſſed, and their Authors chaſtiſed. In which Scrutine, no queſtion, but many Authors had *Batillus* fate; they received more fillups then Crownes; more cenſures then rewards.

Learning never but then deſerves the *Lawrell*, when it is vertuouſly fruitfull.

The opinion of a ſerious and diſcreete judgement ever cloſeth in this: Learning never but then deſerves the Laurell, when it is vertuouſly fruitfull. A light Dreſſe, be it never ſo neatly

neatly ſuited, carryes ever lightneſſe with it. And the more it takes a deluded eye, though it pleaſe it ſelfe, the more it detracts from it ſelfe. The like we may ſay of theſe Venders, or bold adventurers of looſe Labours. Be they never ſo trimly decked, nor artfully poliſhed; *Laïs* will be *Laïs* ſtill. The trimming will not alter the property of the ſtuffe. Nor can lightneſſe, bee it never ſo ſmoothly carried; neatly varniſhed; nor cunningly palliated; keepe her Vizard ſtill on. There will be ſome piercing judgement or other to bring to diſcovery a ſhrouded errour. Nor deſerve thoſe Workes onely reproofe, who treat of light love; (though they be dangerous *Familiars* to haunt Ladies) but ſuch who are tuned to an higher key, and either unprofitably, or which is worſe, prophanely abuſe their captiv'd Hearers. Amongſt theſe, may be numbred our Chymick Profeſſors: who hold it not ſufficient (by ſtrange *Elixirs*) to reduce their owne fortunes to nothing; unleſſe they with their miſerable concluſions, perplexe their ſimple admirers. Where, if a cleare-diſcerning judgement ſhould take a more exact view of their ungrounded reaſons, they would ſoone conclude, that thoſe arguments which they offer, not unlike their adulterate Mettals, are ſoulder'd with *Amalga*, and have more *Moone* than *Sunne* in them. Theſe have got a tricke to ſlight all miracles of Divine Writte: holding with *Albumazar*, that *Moſes* his leading the Children of *Iſrael* over the Red-Sea, was no more but obſerving the influence of the

Chymick Opinioniſts.

Starres, and waining ſeaſon of the Moone that withdraweth the Tides.

Theſe are Subjects ſo incapable of priviledge, as they deſerve the higheſt cenſure. I ſpare to ſpeake of our Statizing Pamphletters, who (ſhadowingly (to free themſelves from State-ſcandall) deblazon ſome eminent Families by their Armes, Coate, or Fields: for which, ſome both Ancient and Moderne Hiſtorians have beene highly taxed. As likewiſe of ſuch, who under borrowed names have ſtrucke at high Perſonages: which might be aptly compared to cowardly Curres, who uſe to bite Paſſengers by the heeles, whom they dare not looke upon in the face.

State Stigmatiſts.

As ſuch who delight to ungorge their paſſionate ſpleane upon *Recreations* of *indifferency*, for no other cauſe, but becauſe they are countenanc'd by *Majeſty*. The laſt, being not the leaſt, I account ſuch, who ſpend much precious Oyle to enwreath and enwarpe the time in their Fopperies. Theſe are *Controverſiall* Men, who rather than they will ſuffer the Church to be at Peace; will ſtudy new doubts to diſturbe her quiet. Theſe will rather ſtirre than ſtay quarrels: for, howſoever they ſeeme to pretend Unity; their affection tends to diſſention: being of the ſlimy nature of ſuch Fiſhes, as cannot live but in muddy and troubled waters.

Factious Queſtioniſts. *Non habet charitatem, qui non amat unitatem.* *Aug.*

That word *Niſi* in this ſentence, *niſi manducaveritis carnem*, ſet all the Counſell of *Baſil* in an uproare.

uprore. That word *Donec*, as *Ioſeph non agnovit Vxorem ſuam Donec*, cauſed the *Antidicomaritans* and *Eluſians* to deny the perpetuall Virginity of the Virgin *Mary*.

Thus quicke-fiery wits, carryed away with the ſpirit of Contradiction, preferring Singularity before Conſcience, Errour before Truth, ſo they may finde *Shadowes* to follow them, will finde cumbuſtible matter enough to the havocke both of Church and Commonweale: Not onely our Humane but Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories are ſtored with various inſtances of this kinde. The Scope we aime at, is this: that ſuch Workes, whether they be Hiſtoricall, Morall or Divine, are onely, upon Cenſure to be approved, by which the State may be uſefully improved: all others to be rejected, becauſe they are either by Scurrilous or Factious Braine-wormes hatched.

For the other, as none yeeld or afford more benefit to their Countrey, than laborious and judicious Antiquaries: ſo trifling and opinionately-conceited Hiſtorians may benefit themſelves, but hardly can communicate the beſt of their knowledge unto others. Opinion is a maine Opponent to Judgment: the one guided (or rather drawne) by a precipitate will, the other diſpoſed by the directing eye of Reaſon. Opinion (*Lesbian*-like) frames their Line by their worke, and not their worke by their line: but Judgment hath ever (*Cleanthes*-like) a Table equally mixed or furniſhed with ſervices of *Arete & Pomona*, *Vid. Heſiod. in Noct. & Die.*

Vertue and Pleaſure: the one to profit, the other to delight: Which equally-mixed Judgment ſhould be eſpecially converſant in Cenſurers of Hiſtories; they muſt not doe, as it is reported of *Valerius Maximus*, inhibite many things in the Evening, which hee would approve of in the Morning, and command that to be enacted one houre, which he would be aſhamed to confirme the next houre. A ſetled and wel-ſeaſoned judgment will with Circumſpection, not ſo much cenſure a modeſt digreſſion in a Hiſtory, as the uſe which may be made of that digreſſion; nor taxe any thing in a faithfull Hiſtorian, though he ſhadow at the corruptions of the Age with bitterneſſe: for oyly and temporizing tongues, are nouriſhers of theſe vicious and irregular times; where, as Beaſts in the Deſart, ſo men live in the World: nor be Cenſurers to taxe ſuch things for impoſſibilities, becauſe they have not heard of the like; nor ſuch Relations as falſe, which have not occurred to their readings. For how ſhould wee give credit to thoſe incredible attempts of former times, where Victories were atchieved with leſſe adoe; than May-games in theſe times? To ſee *Antheus* renewing his ſtrength, and doubling his force by falling: thoſe magnanimous *Romans* erecting their ſpirits moſt when they were neareſt declining. I have ever obſerved theſe times, as they ſecond the firſt in gradation, ſo they ſtand inferiour to the firſt in exploits and managements of reſolution. Cenſures ſhould be ballances equally and evenly diſpoſed; neither

Sicut Beſtiæ in Eremo, ita Gentiles in mundo. Greg. *in Moral.* 29 *Cap.* 18.

neither inclining to partiall affectation of perſon or ſtate; but ready to give approbation where the verity of Diſcourſe, and ſincerity of the Author gives his Pen free ſcope to curbe Errour, and attribute to Vertue her merited Titles. Alas, that Cenſurers ſhould be either ſo engaged to the ſervile command of popular glory, or tyed to great mens ſleeves, that the Hiſtorians Labours muſt be razed, which Truth would have raiſed! Vertue hath in her ſelfe a ſoveraigne end, to which all Liberall Arts and Sciences (in themſelves truely noble, and meriting honour) have their aime and recourſe.

This occaſions Learning to be neglected, and the exact ſcrutinie of ancient Records (than the which nothing more beneficiall) to be ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt, not a little darkned: when a *Rhadamanth*, or Critick Cenſurer muſt have the corrections of our induſtrious Labours, and judicious Volumes: which (to feed his owne indigeſted humour) muſt be ſubject to many frivolous interlacings. But Patience (which is *Comes ſapientiæ, non famula concupiſcentiæ*) muſt be the poore Hiſtorians ſupporter, making uſe of times abuſe, and applying this ſalve to his miſery, which the Poët inferred, as cauſe of *Romes* ſubverſion and calamity:

Comes Victoriæ, comes injuriæ; famula famæ, fama familiæ.

Prima peregrinos obſcana pecunia mores intulit—

Virg. in Æneid.

That Critick *Menippus*, who was ever ſo definite in his owne opinion, as the whole courſe of his diſcourſe reliſhed nothing better then oppoſition. And to affront the *Time* wherein hee lived,

Menippus his reproofe of rigid Cenſurers; whoſe judgement onely conſiſts in razing Labours, and diſheartening Authors: while their innocentſt Lines are oft miſconſtrued; their ſence corrupted

lived, with more boldneſſe, ſcorning to comply eyther with *Time* or *Perſon* for his owne advantage, wiſhed, like an indiſcreet *Malecontent*, that his *Pen* were a *Needle*, and his *Paper* a *Nettle*; yea, and his *Inke Aconitum*, that hee might throw more poyſon on the face of immerited honour: and conſequently, leave to poſterity ſurviving ſtamps of his invective nature: would ſometimes uſe, amongſt other ſubjects of his diſcontent, to take occaſion to fall upon a free reproofe of *rigid Cenſurers*: whoſe judgement (as his miſ-guided opinion ſuggeſted) only conſiſted in razing Labours, and diſheartning Authors: while their innocentſt lines were oft miſ-conſtrued, their ſenſe corrupted.

But this waſpiſh Author by uſing his too much freedome of cenſure to his Cenſurer, who had authority to peruſe and ſuppreſſe, where hee found cauſe, perceiving himſelfe traduced, deſervingly reſtrain'd what elſe might have beene publiſhed: with *ſilencing* only, chaſtiſing his Errour, to beget in him a more temperate cenſure. Truth is, it were prepoſtrous for an *Author* to aſſume to himſelfe ſo much boldneſſe, as to take upon him the place of a *Moderator* to his *Cenſurer*. The aſſumption of leſſe liberty will ſuite better with his Diſcretion and Modeſty: and purchaſe him a demerited eſteeme with ſuch grave and cenſorious Authority: whoſe *place* is ſo much more to be honoured, in regard they are deputed by the State as *Surveyers* and *Diſcuſſers* of our Labours: Peruſing with a judicious eye, and correcting

recting with a diſcreete Penne; to the end, no exception might be taken by the *State*, no prejudice redound to the *Author*, no corruption of manners to the Reader, nor opinion of neglect to the *Cenſor*.

Which courſe, were it not duely and exactly obſerved, what inconvenience might probably follow, there is none of a cleare and equall judgement but may eaſily perceive. For if freedome were given to wanton and luxurious Wittes to write what they would, *Aretines Tables* would receive from every light eye more admiration for true attractive beauty, than the moſt *Serious Piece* that ever was writ either in Philoſophy, Oeconomicall policy, or Hiſtory. No; we ſhould have our Stationers ſtalls covered with Libells: where the moſt integrious Spirit might become no leſſe ſubject to a Calumnious Penne, than He, whoſe riſing growth hath expreſt it ſelfe in nothing more from his infancy, than in the increaſe of vice, and practiſe of villany.

It is the Authority then of a Cenſurer, that many times deterres a wandring Penne from his freedome of errour. So as, by being regulated by ſuch *Licence*, he becomes leſſe *licentious* in the courſe and current of his Writing.

Nay, there is one thing more, which I ſhall onely glance at, purpoſely to induce the ingenuous *Author*, as he values the eſtimate of his owne honour, to ſubmit himſelfe to the candid cenſure of his *Licencer*. And it is this; no doubt, but the too opinionate conceite of every Author

complies with the positive judgement of the Orator: "*Writers doe ever doate most of their owne.* How needefull then is it, for them to have more *indifferent eyes* than their owne, leſt they delude themſelves moſt, by being too affectionately taken with their owne? The *Beare* is as much enamoured of her Cubbe, though of all others, the roughest; as the *Bever* is of his, being of all others, the ſmootheſt. And thus much in the vindication of the honour of a juſt Cenſor. And how an impartiall eye may ſave the Author from much diſhonour. Yet to ſpeake a word or two, ſo it trench not too much upon their power, I hold it not amiſſe. The benefit may redound no doubt, being received as it is intended, both to the *Writer* and *Cenſurer*.

Many (which I have formerly touched and taxed) like ſome of our *German* Authors, ſet forth huge Coloſian Bulkes, fadomeleſſe volumes (and if fatherleſſe too, more credit to their fathers) but they have Bodies without Spirits, *Videntur Libri donec inſpexeris.* "They beare the Cover and "Semblance of Bookes on them, till you looke "in them. Then, and never till then, they ſhew what mettall they are made of. Leane Labours, from fat Authors.

It is commonly ſaid, that Law, Logicke and the Switzers may bee hired to fight for any one. Whatſoever they may bee, apparent it is, by their numerous fruitleſſe Editions, that theſe will enter liſts with any *Antageniſt*, upon the leaſt occaſion. No Subject but muſt have their

paines

paines and Pennes beſtowed on it. Huge intricate Commentaries, to make the Text more difficult. With ſome of theſe I have encounter'd, and for ought I could perceive by the Genuine Sence of their interpretation, they were ſo farre from the underſtanding of the Author they wrote on, as they might be ſent to ſchoole againe, to learne to conſter him, before they commented on him.

The like exuberance is many times ſhowne by many of theſe, in their lighter compoſures: wherein, for moſt part, they offend leaſt. For weake wits beſtowed on weighty Subjects, erre moſt. I have heard of a trifling Pamphletter of this kinde, who after ſuch time, as he had ſpent much waſte Paper inventing ſome weake vapours of his owne; wherein he was ever no leſſe conſtant in the choyce of his Patron to whom he Dedicated them, than he was in compiling thoſe corky Subjects which hee addreſſed to him: preſenting one day another light toy; his Patron having peruſed the Title, and divers paſſages in it, requited his Dedication with this witty Jeere: "Truely friend, quoth hee, you "have writ many fooliſh toyes in your time, but "of all that ere you yet writ, this paſſeth them "all. The poore Author highly taken with this commendation, not without great joy, reported the worthy entertainment he received from his Patron: and how highly to his honour, he had commended his Labour.

Now to our *Cenſurer*; as his place inferres a

priority of judgement, ſo I would have him to diſtinguiſh of the utility of Labours. Theſe, who ſpend time, oyle and paper to purchaſe them the Title of Authors: let them be privatly reprov'd, in daring to preſent ſuch poore ſtuffe before the face of a publicke State. The common Engliſh Proverbe is; "*Better it is to ſit idle, than worke idle.*" This may be properly applyed to them. Their fruitleſſe expence of Time and Paper makes them farre more uſeleſſe to the State, than if they wholly retired themſelves from Labour. Truth is, theſe deſerve no cenſure; they are placed in too low a Siege. A milde reproſe will better beſeeme them; telling them, how by all likely-hood, if any ſuch ſhould be ſuffer'd to goe abroad, or receive priviledge by authority, the next time that either he or any of his family ſhould goe to the Grocer for their ſpicery, little doubt but ſome of his ſhaken leaves would bee return'd him, with ſweeter contents than ever he beſtowed on them.

Whereas SUCH, whoſe earely and late Studies have highly improved their knowledge, and whoſe diſcretion (a ſmall graine whereof would be very uſefull to many of our Schollers) hath ſufficiently inform'd them, what is fit, or accommodate for the time; be the Subjects they treate of Hiſtory, Antiquity, or other Diviner Elements: theſe, I ſay, well deſerve the encouragement of a judicious *Cenſor*. For to uſe the words of our Moderne *Democritus*: "I thinke all the "*Anticyra* will not reſtore them to their Wits,

"if

"if theſe men now, that have *Zenodotus* Heart, "*Crates* Liver, *Epictetus* Lanthorne, be ſo ſot-"tiſh, and have no more braines than ſo many "Beetles, what ſhall we think of the Commonal-"ty? what of the reſt? you may give that Cenſure "of them in generall, which Sr. *Thomas Moore* "once did of *Germanus Brexius* Poëms in par-"ticular:

——— *Vehuntur*
In rate ſtultitiæ, Sylvam habitant Furiæ.

If Learning and Diſcretion be not ſufficient to make up an Author; what may wee expect from him that ha's neither?

Some of our *Cenſurers* have heretofore beene not unlike to ſome of our active Lawyers; who in peruſing of their Clients pleadings, uſually razed out what was moſt pertinent: but afterwards upon a more ſetled judgement, wrote *STET* in the Margent, to all that which they had formerly razed.

Multi dum caſtigant, caſtrant; dum mutant, mutilant. Many, too many, while they ſeeme to correct, they diſtract; while they alter, they torture.

But approved *Cenſors* are of another nature (of which we were never better furniſhed in a competent number:) for theſe are of that *true touch*, as neither gaine may corrupt them, nor the Authors perſon worke upon them, but the worth of the worke: this onely hath power to procure a priviledge from them.

But let me ſtay a little, that I may make an end the ſooner; ere I proceed to the true diſtingui-

ſher of Hiſtories, I muſt caution two ſorts of Men, which (in their Reading) pervert the uſe and ſcope of Hiſtory, by a malevolent diſpoſition, either bred in them by nature, or ingendred by cuſtome, a ſecond nature: the one fooliſhly preciſe, whoſe behaviour (as one obſerveth) are like a verſe, wherein every ſillable is meaſured; or like your *Spaniards* aſpect, who wil not ſmile beyond a point, for feare to unſtarch his looke.

Two ſorts of ſiniſter Readers of Hiſtory.

1. Curious.

Theſe cannot taſte any thing well, that is not abſolute; yet for their judgement a *Venetian* Aſſe may out-ſtrip them: He is (unmeaſurably proud) wiſe in his owne conceite, hath an Orbe in his braine, which ever turning round, makes his judgement braine-ſicke.

Superbire eſt ſupra regulam ire.

An Opinionate Reader, an incompetible Cenſor of an others Labour.

The other, farre more intollerable, becauſe more troubled with the riſing of Spleene: hee detracteth from the beſt, and finds Scruples in infallible truths; his owne judgement, as it is defective, ſo it envies others, maturer in the height of underſtanding, and more exact in the ancient Surveies of Truth. But as Fortitude of body derives her Eſſence from the imbecility of the Minde, and the ability of the Minde from the debility of the body: So the Authors glory is oft-times revived, and augmented by the ſting of Detraction, as the Detractors infamy by the Authors glory: Vertue alone is crowned, Vertue in her ſelfe, is of all poſſeſſed: She it is alone by which Man is Eternized. This is She that ſteeres the poore Hiſtorians Barke againſt all oppoſitions.

2. Calumnious.

Hæc eſt quæ facit hominem Deum, &c. Seneca.

ons. In this Harbour therefore may I repoſe, leaving the depraved Reader to the diſtempra-ture of his owne humor, and betaking my ſelfe to my propounded Taſke.

We muſt walke in a more modeſt path for judgment in the relation of every act that is done; we ought to uſe a kind of deliberation, conſulting with our owne intimate underſtandings, and aske them whether ſuch an Act is worthy memo-ry, or no: for many things wee ſee and read, which Diſcretion would rather have omitted, than to Writing committed; wee have occaſion ſometimes to unrip the tyrannick lives of Prin-ces, and their illimited affections, of diſſolute governments, and to what peculiar vices moſt engaged; yet in the ſummary rehearſall of theſe vice, we doe oft-times (as an excellent Hiſtorian hath well obſerved) *Inſtruere malos*, teach men to be evill, inſtructing them in the exerciſe of thoſe impieties, with which before they were ſcarce acquainted.

Deliberation needfull in Hiſtories of maine conſe-quence.

Vice is of that ſpreading and propagating na-ture, as no infection can more dangerouſly or fatally rage in any populous City, than her con-tagion in the flouriſhing City of the Soule. And ſo proclive is our Nature to the worſt; as we re-ceive it with farre more eaſie impreſſion, than that which reliſheth of the beſt.

Diſcovery of Vices abroad, many times inſtruct us in the very ſame at home.

That *Italian* Lover, who found his Miſtreſſe ſo mutable, could in the extremity of his paſſi-on (as what paſſion more violent or more per-manent) cry out: "Our *Italian* Dames had ne-

"ver

"ver beene acquainted with ſuch diſdaine, nor "entertained their Servants with ſuch con- "tempt, nor rejected them with ſuch Selfe-con- "tent, had they not beene inſtructed by incon- "ſtant *Caſſandra* to love in jeaſt and loath in "earneſt.

Which implied thus much: That nothing could more prejudice either publique or private Eſtates, then to be fraughted with Forraine vices.

Many men of matureſt experience, have and doe give way to ſenſual obedi nce.

Many States are beſt ſecured by *intelligence*; but by the knowledge of others Vices, few or none. Youth is a dangerous taking thing, and apt to be nibling at any baite that is throwne out: yea, and many of matureſt judgements, whoſe long experience in the World, might have ſufficiently inform'd them, that the hopes of Earth are failing; the Honours of Earth fading; all the faire-flouriſhing promiſes of this empty World deceiving: Yet, hearing ſuch an Eminent Stariſt in an other Country advanced, they cannot ſo moderate their affections, but they muſt expoſtulate with their owne overweening Spirits; and on the ſilent night, when more compoſed minds can enjoy their freedome of reſt; and allay the labours of a preceeding day with the untroubled ſleepes of a ſucceeding night; Theſe feele an *Ætna* within them; others *Triumphs* become their *Tortures*; others *Honours* their *Furies*.

Pompey, that loyall but unfortunate *Roman*, being combred with his honour, and wearied with too glorious a Servitude, exclaimed

med to ſee *Sylla's* cruelty, being ignorant after what ſort to behave himſelfe in the dignity hee had; he cryes out amaine, forth of the conſideration he had to an uſurped Tyranny, with a ſerious reflexe had to humane miſery: "O perill "and danger never like to have end!

But *unconfined ſpirits*, whoſe thoughts are ſolely fixt on aëry ſtructures; will not ſuffer their aſpirings to be ſo bounded: nor the *voluptuous* his ſenſuall affections to be ſo couped: nor the poore *Groundling* to have his Earthy-taſting appetite ſo ſated. Theſe, as they peruſe the Mappe of the World; they cull out what may pleaſe them beſt; though the iſſue afflict them moſt. As to inſtance in each of theſe; The high-minded Man loves to informe himſelfe in the Progreſſe of ſuch Mens actions; whoſe aimes have beene no lower then Empires. They conceive their ſupportance to be as great; their Meanes as direct; their wayes as ſmooth. Flattering and deceiving hopes lull them a ſleepe; they will not ſo much as ſuffer their thoughts to converſe with Feare, or labour prevention of a fall, before their practiſe faile. Then, and never till then, they exerciſe the true knowledge of Man. Then they lament, what they cannot recall; ſo precipitate is that cliffy tracke, where unbounded height walkes.

I hold him for ſtupid, who for feare of Death, dyes all his life-long: And him for wicked, who lives without feare of it, as if there were none at all.

Now obſerve a little, whence the Occaſion ſprings, which with winged ſpeed brings on theſe inevitable miſeries! I confeſſe, though many diſpoſitions be naturally inclined to theſe in-

diſcreete aimes: yet are they quickned much with Examples of others.

This moved a neighbouring Prince; (one, whoſe perſonall proweſſe hath worthily inrolled him in the Booke of Fame) ſometime to ſend a Noble and Eminent Perſonage hither; whoſe many arguments of Valour had gain'd him eſteeme enough with his Prince (had his loyall thoughts ſo well deſerv'd it) onely to ſee and obſerve the cenſure and cloze of an high Spirit. Hoping, that ſuch ocular objects would worke ſtrongly upon his deluded thoughts: and bring him to a conſideration of himſelfe by preſentments of feare, what his illimited height would not ſuffer him to thinke upon, with all thoſe ample gratifications of love.

Moſt certaine it is, that the Survey of others actions produce wonderfull effects, according to the diſpoſition of the Peruſer or Spectator. For, as ill-affected ſpirits, who alwayes plant their hopes on unjuſt grounds; and bring their indirect aymes to unhappy ends: are ever dreaming of ſtirring heads, whoſe conſtantſt endeavour it was ever to diſquiet the peace of the State: and craving no better *Medal's* about them, then thoſe of *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, mold their deſignes by ſuch pernitious Patterns. So well-affected diſpoſitions never eye ought with more attention, nor reteine ought with more conſtancy than the Loialty of ſuch as preferred their Countries Fame before their owne Life: deſiring rather to dye than it ſhould periſh.

A conſtant *Curtius*; a reſolute *Horatius*; an affectionate *Zopyrus*; a couragious *Codrus* are theſe mens Objects. Their Vertues they unfainedly wiſh may be their Patterns. Theſe cry out with the Tragedian:

"*No power ſo pure, as ſtedfaſt Piety.*

Nulla vis major Pietate vera eſt. Sen. *in Thieſt.*

Againe, to a youthfull affection, there can be no ſight, in the peruſall of all *Plutarch*, like *Alcibiades* wantoning in *Timandra's* lappe. Nor in all *Suetonius*, like thoſe uncomely laſcivious preſentments before *Nero:* a thought whereof could not chuſe but beget a Vermillion-bluſh, a glowing ſhame in any modeſt eare. Which, to omit the reſt, in my Judgment, were not fitting to be ſuffer'd to paſſe in any free ſtate. Paſſages there are (as I have elſe-where noted) full of Obſcœnity: and lyes open an entrance for unſtay'd Youth to feed too liberally upon ſuch inhibited delights. Such therefore, were much better to be ſhadowed, than ſo freely diſcovered: Seeing, "*Diſcovery of Vices* "*abroad, many times inſtruct us in the very ſame* "*at home.*

Forraigne vices become nat'ralized, and made ours by imitation.

Should two Embaſſadours come hither; one from *Sidon*, another from *Tyre* (as one wittily obſerveth) and ſhould vye in Vanity, as they ſometimes envied one anothers glory; we ſhould collect, that no State-affaires drew them hither, but rather to ſhew the vanity of one Countrey to the other: Which if we our ſelves ſhould admire, in very truth we were madder than either.

True it is, there is nothing, either in matter of Diſcourſe, Employment, Reading; or what Re-

creation ſoever, but that ſoly workes upon us, which ſutes with our humour, or delights us.

Alexander being much in love with *Apelles*, as one highly rapt with the exquiſiteneſſe of his Art, propoſed him that Modell for a Taſke, which he of all others affected moſt; commanding him on a time to paint *Campaſpe*, a beautifull Woman, naked: Which *Apelles* having done, ſuch impreſſion wrought the Picture (an inimitable Piece in ſo nearly tracing Nature) on the affection of the Artiſt, as *Apelles* fell in love with her, which *Alexander* perceiving, gave him her.

There is nothing which wee intentively eye, and by the Crany of the eye convey to our heart, but our Fancy like another *Apelles*, eaſily findes a Table for that Portraiture. Let *Vertue* then be our *Campaſpe*; otherwiſe, that Table which ſhould be reſerved for the pureſt Deity, will be taken up with the impreſſion of ſome lighter Fancy.

Laſtly, the Earth-taken Soule, who conſtantly holds *Avicens* Aphoriſme, "that Gold is the "beſt Reſtorative; admires *Achans* Wedge; *Alcmæons* Store; huggs them in the happy fruition of their ſtate: meane time, holds *Anacharſes* Temperance; *Anacreons* Moderation fitter for the *Wilderneſſe* than the *World*. Theſe read nothing in this kind, but they make uſe of it: but the uſe is ever perverted. Examples they finde to authorize their baſeneſſe: theſe they reteine: but little care take they how to cure them, by apply-

applying uſefull Receipts to remove thoſe ſpreading evills.

A Maſters vice corrupts his Family.

So ſayes the Poët. No vice more retentive than vicious Writing: it corrupts the Judgment by Apologizing Vice with a forraigne Preſident.

Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domeſtica—Hor.

That was an excellent Rule of Direction to regulate our forme of Speech: "*If thy Speech* "*may improve others, why art thou ſilent? If it nei-* "*ther behove thy ſelfe nor others, why art thou not ſi-* "*lent?* The ſame courſe is to be obſerved in our "forme of writing: "If by our Pen we may profit "our ſelves, it is well; if ſome few others as well as "our ſelves, it is better; if all, it is the beſt; "if none, Silence enjoynes the Workman to take "his reſt. In one word, as ſome things are neceſſarily to be remembred, ſo others no leſſe neceſſarily to be omitted. And with farre more Diſcretion may they in their *Embrio* be ſilenc'd by the Author; then after ſuch time as they are publiſhed, to be ſuppreſt by Cenſure.

Quò taces, modò proficias? Quò non taces, ſi minùs proficias?

Hoc nempe ab homine exigitur, ut proſit hominibus ſi fieri poteſt, multis; ſi minus, paucis, ſi minùs proximis; ſi minus, ſibi. Senec. *de vitâ beatâ.*

That memorable Law-giver being demanded what puniſhment was to be inflicted on him, who ſhould chance to ſlay his Father or Mother: hee anſwered them with, *Haud equidem puto, &c.* I doe not thinke there can be any ſo unnaturall diſpoſition.

Acts ſilenced ſometimes doe better than if expreſſed: for the Curtaine of vices drawne, moves Imitation rather than Evitation.

In diſtinguiſhing alſo of things good and neceſſary from their contraries, wee ſhould not mixe triviall Diſcourſes in our maine Relation: they much impaire and diſparage the weight of an Hiſtory, diſtracting the Readers minde with impertinencies, where the Subject might of it ſelfe be better proſecuted; nor can any thing ſhew more indiſcretion in an Author, than theſe vagaries, where attention can no way be moved, the expectances of men ſatisfied, or a reall delight with profit apprehended. Attention (as that eloquent Orator noteth) is there the quickeſt, where wee promiſe to ſpeake of things, great, new, un-uſuall; or ſuch affaires as may conduce to the benefit of the Common-weale, to the eſtabliſhing of Religion, Piety, or the like.

Strange novelties draw attentiõ, move approbation, if probability be mixed in the Diſcourſe.

Now ſuch ſerious Diſcourſes (in themſelves grave and ponderous) are not to be mixed with every frivolous digreſſion; the Body of the Hiſtory being ſolid, ſhould not depend of weake and infirme members: which might ſeeme to reſemble the *Roman* Coloſſe, of an huge proportion in body, but feeble feet; ſo as one day the frame of the whole was demoliſhed by the debility of one part. Yet in this grave and firme Compoſition, there muſt be one neceſſary Caveat inſerted: that whenſoever we draine the approbation of our Diſcourſe (as from many, and thoſe to our Judgment of the ſelected Authors) we reconcile their Opinions, and make one united Body of ſo many diſperſed parts. This I thought to caution (as well the Hiſtories peruſers,

uſers, as the generalleſt Collectors of) becauſe I have obſerved this foule errour (and that in both Ancient and Moderne Relations) where divers Authors were cited, and their ſeverall Opinions marſhalled on a row: but as in a battell, when the wings be broken, there enſueth nought but an univerſall confuſion; ſo without reconcilement in the concluſion, he leaves the Reader in ſuſpence, whoſe opinion to entertaine; becauſe not directed by the Author.

Opinions drawne from divers Authors ſhould be reconciled.

This implies a double defect; either from ſtupidity, not able to diſtinguiſh; or from a pertinacy, not willing to communicate his Judgment to others. The latter is more intollerable than the firſt; for the one includes a native defect, (which hee would remedy if his Apprehenſion could better it.) The other a malicious deſire of ingroſſing knowledge to himſelfe; though both unworthy of an Hiſtoricall place: for Ignorance deſerves ſmall entertainment in ſo judicious an Argument: and a perverſe diſpoſition much leſſe, concealing his knowledge from his Countrey, which by his Subject (it ſeemes) he intended to benefit. In diſtinguiſhing likewiſe, we ſhould ever obſerve to cull out ſuch perſpicuous Sentences as comprehend moſt, yet leaſt in affectation: for ſuch taſte ever of ſingularity. *Hortenſius* was called by *Pythias* (for his too much geſturing) a profeſt *Mimick*, a *Dionyſian*: the ſame Title may be given our curious Relators: they binde their Subject to their words, eſteeming no diſcourſe in it ſelfe worth judicious obſerva-

A double defect, *Obſtinate* and *Ignorant*.

Vid. Aul. Gel. in Noct. Attic.

Words ſhould be accommodate to the matter, not the matter to the words.

obſervation, but what is repleniſhed and full fraughted with polite ſentences, making the matter indebted to the ſuperficiall Art of the Compoſer.

☞ What dreſſe, both for choiſe of Words, and diſpoſition of Phraze, beſt becomes an Hiſtory.

You ſhall read in many Hiſtorians a ſingular kinde of ſtate, the forme and order of their Relations, obſerved: Neither ſhall you finde in that Style any ſuch affected State, as with large *Parentheſes* to intangle the underſtanding, or too much enlarge the Subject, by challenging too neare affinity with Art. The ſelfe ſame forme which ſometimes that richly-enobled *Mirandula* commended to his, I ſhould beſt approve of in theſe. "As I do not (ſaith he) require from you ☞ "a forme of Speech to trimme, ſo I would "not have it traſh; as I would not have it too "neate, ſo I would not have it too rough; as "not too choice, ſo not too courſe.

Whatſoever taſtes of affectatiō, digreſſeth from this Diſpoſition.

That unkemb'd and incompt Antiquity, he could not endure. He would have Lines ſo taſte of the Lampe, as to have a ſtronger reliſh of labour, than affectation from any other. As firſt, for the *choice* of *Words*, No man, unleſſe he have already vow'd to converſe onely with Aire, can be of ſo diſtemper'd a judgement, as to preferre a ſuperficiall dreſſe of *Words*, before the maine *Subiect* whereof hee meanes to intreate. This were like one, that ſhould addreſſe himſelfe for ſome farre journey, and accommodate himſelfe with all neceſſaries fitting for ſuch a journall: but neglects wholly, or knowes not the bent of his Travaile whereto he goes, nor for

for what end. And fooliſh were he, who, upon peruſall of ſuch an Airy Author, that decks his Workes meerely with an outward luſtre, ſhould fall into a veine of applauding or commending him: Nor could he well have leſſe reaſon to approve ſuch *Encomions* (but rather hold them for *Paradoxes*) than ſuch, who have beene ſometimes pleaſed to beſtow their deriſory praiſes upon the very worſt or contemptibleſt Subjects. After this ſort, was *Polycrates* that famous *Athenian* Rhetorician pleaſed to fall into the praiſe of the Tyrant *Buſyris*, *Seneca* of *Claudius*, *Faverinus* of *Therſites*, *Maro* of his *Gnat*, *Lucianus* of his *Flye*, *Apuleius* of his *Aſſe*: Againe, *Faverinus* of a Quartane Fever, *Glaucus* of Injuſtice, *Syneſius* of Baldneſſe, *Lucianus* of Paraſiticall Flattery, *Eraſmus* of Folly. But truth is, praiſe may reflect upon the Subject that is unworthy of ſuch praiſe, by way of diſgrace. To commend a parcimonious man for his bounty or liberality, or a ſevere Judge for his clemency, layes him open to the World; which makes his Commender a Satyricall Diſplayer: in extolling him in that reſpect onely, which hath begot him, to ſuch as truely know him, a marke of ignominy. Flattery, faith one, is not alwayes to praiſe in preſence, for ingage our ſelves wee may to that hatefull brand, by praiſing in abſence; that is, when either the vertue, for which he is praiſed, is abſent, or the occaſion: as for *Vertue*, as ſhe is her owne praiſe, her owne Princely Precident; ſo is her owne

Tu quem commendes etiam atque etiam aſpice: Nemox incutiant altena tibi commiſſa pudorem. Horat.

prize her owne praiſe, farre above the oyly Rhetorick of any affective Paraſite.

Such *Words* then beſeeme an Hiſtorian beſt, which are proper and native. Such as were obſolete or out of uſe were much diſtaſted of our Hiſtorians of ancient time: ſo as, howſoever ſome abſtruſe words may fall out now and then in the Relations of *Tranquillus*, which taſted too much of *Caleſine:* no doubt, but they were in thoſe times received for Native. Howbeit, ſometimes they mainly obſcure the mind of the Author. Some Arguments likewiſe cannot be expreſſed in uſuall Words: unleſſe the Word by which ſuch a thing ſhould be rendred, were dilated to a whole ſentence. In ſuch caſe, the Hiſtorian is to be excuſed; becauſe the eaſineſſe of this errour, is rather to the *Subject* than *Author* to be imputed. In briefe, I will conclude this with that ſententious ſaying of the Poët:

Words follow matter of their owne accord,
Matter gives life and eſſence to the Word.

Now, for the *Phraze*; as I have formerly propoſed the beſt direction, that ſuch, who have already writ of that Subject, have recommended; all the better, to imprint this in your memory; it is to be underſtood, that no *Phraze* of Speech better becomes theſe Relations, than ſuch as are briefe and ſententious. I have knowne ſome, in their Additions to certaine pleaſing Inventions of our owne; by labouring to ſurpaſſe their Coppy

(leſt

(left imperfect, and falling into their nice hands to make compleate) through an affected Elegancy of phraze, to have darkned the meaning of the Author: by furniſhing the Story with an Ocean of Words, but ſcarce one droppe of Reaſon. The *Phraze* then muſt be ſo diſpoſed, that the matter whereof wee treate, muſt not through affectation become intangled, nor any way obſcured. Wherein a great meaſure of diſcretion is required: Yea, and in one and the ſame Hiſtory, the *forme* of the *Phraze* may be changed. Light Subjects are ever properly ſuited with light Lines. But when we addreſſe our Diſcourſe to deſcribe the Subverſion of a State, the depopulation of any flouriſhing City: ſtill from the Tragicke aſhes of ſuch a Story, may our Penns bee taught to droppe Teares. There is no repreſentment of Sorrow that ſuites well in the ſame Habit or Colours, that Subjects of delight are to be attired in. When that Nation, our Hiſtorian hath occaſion to write of, ſhall be cloathed in mourning garments; when fire and fury attend them without, feare and famine within:

When their weake VValls are ſo incloſ'd about,
That feare gets in, but nothing can get out.

Then muſt his *Phraze* of Speech put on an heavy dreſſe. Elegancy never leſſe beſeemes him than at that time. Paſſionate Enter-breathes; Treaties of Sorrow; Eare-moving expoſtulations

from those disconsolate Agents of misery, are fitting Dishes for such a bloody banquet.

This might bee amply illustrated by those inhumane cruelties lately cōmitted by the *Groats* & *Curlings* in *Germany*.

Benzo in his Indian Story expresseth a singular Art in his discovery of Passion in this kinde; who relating the cruelty of the Spanish Nation practised upon the West Indies (if the History hold concurrence with truth) collects a Summary of all in this one presidentall report: In one of their Ilands called *Hispaniola*, of twenty hundred thousands, when the people stood untoucht (which had they remain'd so still, might have redounded more to the honour of that Nation) the Author was verily perswaded at the penning of his History, that there were scarce a hundred and fifty soules left; whence he exclaimed, *O quot* Nerones, *quot* Domitiani, *quot* Commodi, *quot* Bassiani, *quot immites* Dionisij *eas terras peragravere?*

Benzo in Hist. Ind.

He ha's in store a Catalogue of unexemplary Tyrants, for such unexemplary mischiefes. Passion in Discourses of this nature (which is farre better exprest in abrupt sighes, than polish'd speech;) will become well the penne of an Historian. Another Style is to bee used in peaceable Treaties, Nuptiall Solemnities, or Orations by way of Embassie and the like.

In the distinguishing then of these, as I have formerly noted; is much discretion required. For to use any Style that may not suite with the *Subject* whereof he treates, argues a want of disposition in the Author: resembling such ridiculous Actors; who, whether they speake of Heaven or

Earth

Earth, fixe their eyes alwayes on one place: or whether they ſpeake of warre or peace, ever reteine one tune in their ill-diſpoſed voyce. Shall we then a little longer inſiſt upon ſuch particulars, for matter of Style, as either impaires or improves the beauty of an Hiſtory? Heare what my opinion, derived in part from others, is in this.

Theſe beſeeme not a Hiſtory; dilated circumſtances, inſtances too much ſtood upon, an ambiguous leaving of ſomething undetermined: They leave the underſtanding in doubt what to reſolve, the judgement what to thinke, the thoughts what to deliberate: So as our reading conferres no other profit, save an intricate winding or wreathing of many anxieties up together: Giving the Minde free ſcope to imagine the event, being implyed by the Author.

An Hiſtorian in his writing ſhould have a kinde of ſeeming ſecurity for his Style and Order of Speech; yet not ſo, (as to omit an exact or wittily compoſed ſetty) to reliſh the Readers diſtaſte: Such was *Tacitus* uſe, by enterlacing the ſeriouſneſſe of his Tale, with ſome judiciall (but ſtrangely briefe) ſentences: annexing ſome pleaſant ſtraine, either of meere purpoſe invented, or from the occaſion of his Subject derived, to ſweeten the heavier part of his diſcourſe: which ſhould not be too long inſiſted on, for that were triffing; but ſhadowingly touched, for that implies plenty of Subject: not flying to triviall relations, to make up a greater Volume, but

Non ubi varietati feſtivitas proprie cedit.

for the delight of the judiciously affected: *Miscendo utile dulci.*

But alas, where this distinguishment of judgement of Histories requires great labour, it oft-times obtaines as little favour: The present age cannot admit of such discourses, they be too serious: So that whosoever should compile a Volume of Judiciall extractions, or approved Observances, should hardly have as many Readers, as *Persius* conjectured for his Labours: *Vel duo, vel nemo:* O ill disposed Times! when judgement goes a Wool-gathering. *Augustus* had two which he especially respected above the rest of his Nobles, and the one of them was a *Mecanas*, a Patron of learning, and a grace to the sacred influence of Poësie: But where should we finde an *Atlas* for *Parnassus* in these dayes? where Noble (yet degenerate Spirits) esteeme him that will be Pandor to his Punke, above him that will bee Patron to a Poëm? It seemes strange that in best experienc't times, where knowledge should bee hightned, the foggy vapours of ignorance dispelled: Nay, where these times have respite from warlike Alarums, and therefore may securely feede at *Minerva's* Table, should be so delighted with superficiall shadowes, contemning the perfect essence and lustre of Man, (to wit) how to know himselfe. Here the Miser digges (and with the Dormouse) sleepes out his time in a fruitlesse scraping; There the Prodigall (careless of times expence) bastardizeth his Fathers providence, leaving no more to himselfe, than that he

Nomina, Mecænas, Charitum scribuntur arenis, Pieridûm gelidis inclyta Scripta rogis. lib.

Worlds Anatomy.

he could not take from himſelfe, a poore Grave: Here the Ambitious man, diſplaying his pie-coloured flags of vanity (in the elation of his Spirit) contemnes the inferiour ranke of men, ever aiming at an higher Spheare than popular preſſe, till his aſpiring produce his falling, and the honour which hee purchaſt without merit, forſakes him not without ſhame: But which of theſe will take paines to ſee himſelfe repreſented in Exemplary Hiſtories? If the Picture of old *Menedemus* were hung up in the eye of the Miſer (he would I doubt it not) gaze with his foure eyes on the Picture, but make little or no uſe on the Patterne: The Ambitious man, if hee ſaw the Character of himſelfe in that vaſt and undetermined minde of *Catiline*, in that ambitiouſly inſinuating ſpirit of *Seian*, I feare me hee would rather make uſe of the meanes of his riſing, than caution himſelfe by his untimely declining: The Prodigall (expreſſing his owne Mirrour, by *Theotimus* errour) who preferred luſt before his eyes, would (much I feare it) rather darken the eye of his Soule, to ſatisfie the eye of his Body, than moderate his paſſions on Earth, to reape the fruit of his Moderation in Heaven. O that theſe Times would ſo diſtinguiſh of their abuſes, as being diſcovered, they may be cenſured; for where abuſes are concealed, they ſeeme afreſh to be renewed, and (with Authority) confirmed, but being openly ript, they may be whipt and ſtript: firſt diſplayed to the eye of the World, then ſummoned before the *Throne of Iuſtice*!

It

It was a constant Custome, as hath beene observed, "for the *Roman* State, and that when "she was in her prime Monarchiall beauty, for all Artificers to carry about them the badges of their Trades, the Signals of their Conditions. And this every Mechanick willingly obeyed; so as, it was not permitted them to walke abroad through the Streets of the City, without this Cognizance of their quality. While one more precise than wise, standing one day forth in the presse of the people; "Sirs, quoth he, we are in-"joyned to goe with the severall Badges of our "poore professions, and as meete is, we observe "the Custome. Meane time, how shall we know "what Trade our perfumed Silken Courtiers are "of; our purple Consuls, or our Scarlet Citizens? "Where be the Armes they beare? The Cogni-"zants they carry?

The Speech of this Critick Artizan came streight to the Emperours eare; who liking well, of his blunt question, injoyned all such as reteined to his Court, or boare Magisteriall places in his Courts of Justice, or bore high Offices in the City, to observe the like course which those inferiour Mechanicks observed. This was injoyned, and their observance expected. Many Devices and Impressa's were contrived, but few or none pleased. It was thought fit by the Emperour, that such devices and no other should accommodate them, as that very Artist should invent, who first proposed this Observation to them. He ready to embrace such a Taske, and obey

obey ſo juſt a command, ſets his Invention forthwith on worke, which he diſcovers in this ſort.

A witty conceit of a bold Artizan.

For the *Courtier*, he gave him a *Sweet Glove* with this Impreſſe: *Eius ero, quam gero.*

For the *Conſul*, a *Wedge of Gold* with this Mott: *Illi hæreo, quod fero.*

To the *City-Officiall*, a *Lampe in the ſnuffe*, with theſe words: *Ferveo, at fateo.*

Howſoever the device might ſeeme bitter, this invention was not onely approved, but rewarded by the Emperour.

It is a true ſaying, "There is nothing that gives more nouriſhment to Vice than want of imployment: by doing nothing, wee ſhall ſoone learne to doe worſe than nothing.

Action is the life of Man; and when the Fancy is not well imployed, it will aſſay ſomething that may witneſſe to the World, it had better farre beene reſtrained.

A modeſt diſcovery of the abuſes of the time: how they are to be ſearched; how cured.

For my part, I cannot chuſe but wonder (with that Divine Cynick) how Man bred amongſt Men ſhould ſo ſoone forget the prime beauty of Man; as to ſuffer it to be drenched in the Lees of looſe affections. How a living Subſtance, and that Subſtance endowed with Reaſon, ſhould ſo faune on a Shadow. Or hold himſelfe imparadized with the poore conceit of a ſmile from one lighter than Vanity. What an incomparable Favour is one raviſh'd Feather from her Fanne, whoſe very levity is the Embleme of that Favour? Are theſe manly motions? What a tricking, trimming, poudring and purfling this *poore*

Rinde must have? what a varnish must Art bestow on it? Meane time, what *Diogenes* sometimes said to a youth too curiously and effeminately drest, may be truely said to this painted piece: "If thou goest to Men, all this is but in "vaine, if unto women, it is wicked. Now, as the *Lure* of a light Curtezan is *Lucre*; her *aime* must consequently be the *ruine* of her *Lover*. So as, her speech to her poore Suiter is the very same, which that old Strumpet used to a worne-out Customer of hers, who asked daies of payment for his pleasure, *Oculata nostræ sunt manus, credunt quod vident.* If unguided youth would have his delights sensible, her receipts must be palpable.

Vid. Marian: in Arcad. Princ.

Lesse occasion of griefe it cannot be to any one who affects Piety, or suffers with a just man in his wrongs: To see an honest and integrious cause fall light in the Scale, because his gold wants weight. To see justice weighed by graines: Or Scarlet attended by vices in the same Livery.

Or a rich Chuffe, whose ill-thriving providence his posterity tastes of; to squeaze the weake ones with his unconscionable bargaines; to treasure to himselfe what will sticke by him, when poore dust (the remainder of all his care) shall receive him: Many a dry eye attend him: and his hungry Executors (as Ravens greedy after prey, and impatient of too long delay) shall imbrue his corpse with their blood before they bury him.

Let

Let theſe reflect upon themſelves and their owne follies; and ſee themſelves perſonated in divers inſtances in all our Hiſtories: and when they have taken a full view of their owne enormities; which cannot be of ſuch ſmall proportion, but they will appeare viſible enough to their recollected fancies, let me aſke them in the ſame tearmes that the young Gallant in *Eraſmus*, aſked his wanton Miſtreſſe: "Are "yee not aſhamed to doe that in the ſight of "God and teſtimony of his Angels, which yee are "aſhamed to do in the ſight of Men, inferiour to "Angels? Sores cannot be cured, till they be diſcovered and ſearched: a Morall Story h'as in readineſſe a *Probat* to ſearch them, and *Balme* enough, if uſefully applide, to heale them.

O let Hiſtories, as they be Records of what were done, whether good or evill; excite us to be good, and deterre us from being evill: Stories are repleniſhed with examples of both ſorts, for they be Store-houſes of precedent events, and conſequently ſo to be obſerved and digeſted, as the Judicious Reader may better diſpoſe of his events. I have noted in Diſcourſes of this kind, the obſervance of that *Generally Iudicious Gentleman*, and the beſt advancer of depreſſed Learning, where he ſaith: *Some Bookes are to be taſted, ſome to be ſwallowed, few to be chewed and digeſted.* Such as are to be taſted I comprehend, in Stories of modeſt accomplement, ſuperficiall flouriſhes, garniſhing our Diſcourſe modeſtly without vaine oſtentation or bravery: Such are

Sir F. B.

A Three-fold Diſcourſe branched into a three-fold Obſervance.

to be ſwallowed; as thoſe Amorous, and fruitleſſe labours of braine-ſicke Authors, freighted with continuall Hyperbolees comely in nothing but love: Such are to be chewed and digeſted, as include diſcourſe tending both to inſtruction and delight, &c.

So then, here we may come to our judiciall point; we ſee and read Hiſtories, ſome onely to be taſted, others ſwallowed, ſome few chewed, as Beaſts were in the old Law. Hiſtories being ruminated and chewed, yeeld a continuall profit, and the more meditated, the more beneficiall; which ſeemed well approved (and no leſſe worthy our obſervance) by his inſtitution, that wiſhed every Reader to take theſe three remembrances in his way to reade: *Libenter*, *Diligenter*, and *Intelligenter*; The firſt yeelds a preſent delight, becauſe it includes a willingneſſe; the next a diligent Attention, implying a ſeriouſneſſe; the laſt an uſe of both, enfolding an underſtandingneſſe: Theſe three attend a judicious diſtinguiſhing of Hiſtories, Judgement in diſcerning what is beſt, and theſe to apprehend the beſt: Theſe foure commixed reſemble twinnes at two burthens, all directours one to another: for without judgement, we may chuſe the worſt as ſoone as beſt, taking our aime onely at delight, without recourſe to profit, beſt agreeing with the outward ſence; here is a want in the Election: without willingneſſe, our reading breeds a loathing; without diligence, our diſcourſe is fruitleſſe; and without underſtanding, our minds be erring

Three Obſervances worthy our conſideration in Reading.

Vſe of thoſe three Obſervances.

erring. And thus much for dijudicating of Hiſtories, an eſſentiall part of this Booke: I have but ſummarily ſet down my Opinion (grounded on the collections of others) herein, that I might proſecute the former parts of my Diviſion in the Method of this Hiſtory, contracting much into a little Body.

THe Method which I propounded to my ſelfe in the beginning, was firſt to deſcribe the Scope of Hiſtories: Secondly, the uſe, fruit, and effect of Hiſtories in generall: and the third extracted from the ſecond, that the particular Profit which redounded eyther to a Family in private, or adminiſtration of States in publicke by theſe Hiſtories. For the firſt, being the original whence the two others are drained, I have ſpoken ſufficiently: Longer (I confeſſe) was I enforced to inſiſt upon them, then my Volume (which I preſcribed my ſelfe) would admit: But the many Vſes, Subdiviſions, and grounds naturally ariſing from them, enforced me to proſecute the Argument more fully: I intend now to handle the ſecond part, to wit, *the Fruite and Vſe of Hiſtory*, the ſpeciall'ſt Motive inducing reading. The Method proſecuted.

THe greateſt and movingſt argument of perſwaſion to the undertaking of this or that, is the benefit we expect redounding from our enterpriſe: I will ſuccinctly expreſſe the ſeverally- Vſe of Hiſtory.

moving effects of profit (the worldly mans Adamant) from Hiſtory, Naturally and Eſſentially derived: which being laid open, I hope the Miſer (who as *Seneca* noteth, is good to none, but worſt to himſelfe) will be profitable both to himſelfe and others: My *Exordium* ſhall be drawne from him, becauſe I take him to be one of the divils chiefeſt Factors, and more benefit ſhould I yeeld my Country in bringing ſuch an one, than in taking an Arch-pirate: From him deſcending to every vitious profeſſour (binding my ſelfe ever to my tackling) the *fruit* of *Hiſtory*, in it ſelfe able to reclaime the depraved'ſt from their habituated enormities.

☞ The true Characterall Portraiture of a *Miſer*.

A Miſer and Miſery were ever held Correlatives. And he is that true Miſer, who, like the blind Mole, receives al his nutriment from Mold. It is ſtrange that any Creature endued with Reaſon, ſhould ſo much ſlave the freedom of ſo right a Soveraigneſſe to the thraldome of Senſe. When the Prince or Princeſſe falls ſick, the whole Court mournes, ſayes that incomparable *Morall*. Apply this to thy owne Condition, miſerable Wormeling; thy Princeſſe is mortally ſicke; thy *Soule* who languiſheth irrecoverably; how can all her faculties doe leſſe than ſuffer?

Languente Principe, tota in lachrymas reſoluta eſt Curia: Succumbente anima, cuncta familiæ patiuntur Organa.

Shee ever hated converſing with Earth: her Contemplation was in an higher Spheare. And as a Plant removed from that Soile where it liked, and brought to a plotte of ground from her Nature eſtranged; ſhee h'as of late quite loſt her Verdure and Vigour. Thus haſt thou ſuffer'd

fer'd thy *Divine part* to be drowned and drenched in the contemptibleſt refuſe and rubbiſh on Earth.

Oh that thou knew'ſt but what a ſmall ſcantling or portion of this Earth which thou ſo much affecteſt, muſt ſerve thy turne: and what a ſmall meaſure in the *Interim* (if thy deſires would reſt ſo ſatisfide) will afford thee a Competence! Theſe thy unbounded and Hydropick affections would confine themſelves to a ſtraiter Circumference.

Truth is, there is nothing which this *Earthworme* enjoyes, that hee can properly entitle his owne. For as thoſe Temporary Bleſſings which hee h'as received, are eſtranged from his uſe: ſo the very thoughts of his heart are not his owne, becauſe they are ever fixing on anothers Farme. Hee ſees nothing flouriſh in anothers Paſture, but the Object of it begets his diſtemper. Others fatneſſe makes him leane. To gaine him an eſtate, he cares not how he macerate his Body. It fareth with ſuch men as theſe, as it doth with the *Sea-Eagle*, who, when hee cannot ſeaze upon his prey, he throws himſelfe head-long into the Gulfe.

Corpus exterat, ut lucrum extendat.

Cum ferre quod capit, nequeat, in gurgitem demergitur.

Now, whereto extends this immoderate Care? he will tell you, for himſelfe and his poſterity. Let us then divide theſe parcells of his Care, and collect what uſe hee makes of it either in reſpect of himſelfe, or his Scapethrift Heire.

It is good providence (for ſo hee guilds his Avarice)

Avarice) which hath brought him to this macerating Care. He cannot endure to ſee the Creatures of God, ſo laviſhly nor careleſly ſcattered. He h'as reſolv'd to hold an hanke: Though it be now Summer with him, hee knows not how ſoone Winter may come. He h'as reſolv'd therefore to play the provident Ant; to have his Granars full; Vine-preſſes flow; to have a Friend in a corner to revenge him of his Foe, and doe his Friend a pleaſure.

His inſatiate deſire of increaſing his State; his uſeleſſe ends in diſpoſing his Store.

Theſe are faire flouriſhes; but looke what precious fruits theſe glorious Reſolves produce! What benefit brings all this hoording to himſelfe? Or what utility to the publick State? To himſelfe, I dare ſay, neither living or dying. For obſerve him while he is living; and you ſhall find him the pooreſt and leaneſt Soule in all his Meniey.

Some of theſe wee have here lately had; who as they abridged Nature of her due, and dyed in her debt; ſo they could not performe the Office of Nature long before their Death.

Yea, he could be well contented, of all Sects, to be a *Pythagorean*; wiſhing with all his heart (ſo it might ſtand with the conſervation of Nature) neither to eate nor drinke all his life-time: but he intends not this abſtinence to increaſe his Knowledge, but to improve his Fortunes by an abſtemious providence. So as, that Cynick tooke not his marke amiſſe, when reſolving one day to diſtinguiſh a Land-buyer from a Seller; a miſerable Chuffe from a ſociable Good-fellow; tooke his ayme by their Phyſnomies. If hee ſaw one plumpe-fac'd, ruddy-complexion'd, cheerefully countenanc'd, quick-ey'd, hee would accoaſt him with this Salute: "Sir, are not you a Seller?

But

But when he ſaw one of a leane meagre Countnance, chop-falne, earthy complexion'd, he would preſently alter his conjecture upon ſight of his Feature, and greete him thus: "In "good ſadneſſe, grave Sir, are not you a purcha- "ſer? Whence we may ſafely conclude: *That he ha's the beſt part in the World, that ha's leaſt part in it.*

Optimam partem in mundo habet, qui minimam habet.

Nor can this unprofitable care of a wretched Worlding, become any way uſefull to him in his dying. His Teſtament is made; and he leaves in it what he is unwilling to leave. And to whom he leaves it, he knowes not; but enjoy muſt others, what he could not. A Grave-ſtone, perchance, may diſtinguiſh him from the poore ones of the Pariſh. But for an Inſcription, either his memory merits none, or his mindleſſe Executor beſtowes none; or the diſ-eſteeme of his Survivers will not deagne him one.

Nor can this penurious providence of his, afford much good to his ſucceeding *Scatter-good*. Who cries out with that ſhort-mourning Gallant; ſo ſoone as he h'as earth'd the Foxe.

Away with Sable, Bugle, Cypreſſe-black,
For now mine humour is to mourne in Sack.

Ite procul veſtes pullæ, vitaque Cupreſſi, Expediet mæſto fata levare nero.

Thus have you pencel'd out the Portrature of a Miſer. His inſatiate deſire of encreaſing his State, his uſeleſſe end in diſpoſing his Store: all which by a right uſe of Hiſtoricall Obſervations, may receive a ſpeedy cure.

The Misers profit by History.

The Miser, that is indebted to both backe and belly, so engaged to the World, as he must have his household-God of the World, ever harboured in his bosome, or made his pillow to sleepe on, the key of his rust: Hee that never fed Nature in all his dayes with competency; or durst recreate himselfe, for feare least his recreation should play cheater, and couzen him of his providence: being the moath of the vertuous, the harbour of the vitious: carrying a conscience more infectious than Rats-bane ever about him; if ever he have grace to cast his eye into an Historicall Discourse (next to the Sacred Writ) he shall finde as Soveraigne Antidotes for his malady, as in any place. I will Anatomise the Misers corruptions, and like an artificiall practitioner first open his wounds, and then infuse Balme into them, which Unction if it will not serve, I shall then apply more rough and sharp plaisters.

Now Master Miser, that is, meere wretched man; thou hast sufficient, and more than is competent for nature, yet thou art not satisfied: A very, very little will serve thee for thy use, for thou never hadst the Grace to know what an honest expence meant: Thou Tantalizest thy selfe; amid'st of plenty, famished; Thou hast a good mind to be rich, but that's impossible: *Semper avarus eget*; There is a greedy worme that is ever consuming and gnawing on thee: Thou art at liberty, yet imprisoned, and in more intollerable servitude, than the miserablest Captive upon

A Miser cannot be rich.

upon earth; yet thy chaines are of gold, thou art a gorgeous priſoner; Thou art ſubjected to more hazards than a Merchant Venturer; to more nightly oppreſſing, and ſur-charching cares, than an Emperour; to more hourely diſtractions, and terrible apparitions, than a Murtherer: Thou wouldſt ſleepe if thou couldſt, but thy diſturbed thoughts deprive thee of that comfort: To be briefe, as thou art in Image the beſt, ſo in diſpoſition the worſt of all creatures, being thine owne *Tymon*, thine owne hangman, that macerates thy ſelfe, and makes thy appetite ever inſatiate.

Sub te omnia, quæ extrà te. Omnia infrà te, quæ extrà te. Terram ſuprà es, ſi te ſuperes. ib.

A miſer his owne Hangman.

I will lead thee into a ſpacious field of Hiſtories, where thou ſhalt ſee thy immerited mind deblazoned in her colours; not a memorable inſtruction for Liberality (thy abſolute Opponent) but ſhall be produced for thy uſe: that ſeeing the eminence of thy Adverſary, thou maiſt hate thy ſelfe, and bee reconciled at laſt to thy Foe.

The Liberall-hearted man is as much Maſter to himſelfe, as thou art thine owne Slave: he ſurpaſſeth thee in uſe of his owne, and can direct himſelfe by an equall proportion, limited ever to a generally approved end. Hee hates to draw in the Sailes of his Bounty, in the preſence of deſert; and makes no more account of his own, than to diſtribute to others wants a ſhare of his fortunes; nor eſteemes he that his owne, of which he hath not power, and in his power can freely give: hee verefies the Verſe (approving a

A contrariety in two different diſpoſitions.

liberall mind: *Quod nunquam dederit, non habuisse putat*: He never was so farre ingaged, or enthraled, to any earthy substance, as to make it chiefe-tane over his intellectuall part: he makes this his Position, and scornes it should be controuled by any inferiour subject: *To give, and to delight in giving*: And that day wherein (to the moity of his fortunes) he hath not demonstrated the rare Character of his Bounty, he cryes out with *Titus, Amici, perdidimus diem*: This day hath beene an abridgement of my generous intentions, a restraint to my extended mind; I did never shew my selfe, lesse to bee my selfe, than in this dayes exigent: This is he who measures Vertue for his meere peace and contentment, and not according to successe; hee shewes not his liberality for observance, but peculiar satisfaction; for he imagines no greater infelicity, than to be miserable; his promises are ever relatives with his performances: He scornes to dissemble with the World; he never annoynted his tongue to enrich his fortunes: The perfect Idiome and Character of his Native Properties is already depictured: I will illustrate this Mirrour of Vertues with Exemplary Mirrours, Professours of this Vertue: Reade but the ancient *Romane* Annals you shall see many renowned for Liberality, and in *Syracusa* too, for her Eminence and exquisite Government no lesse glorious: In *Rome* a *Fabius Maximus*: who willingly forgoes his Patrimony, to preserve his Countries reputation: *Se enim Patrimonij, quàm patriam fidei inopem*

The Liberall mans Aphorisme.

The Character of a Liberall man.

Examples of Liberality.

inopem eſſe maluit. *Buſa* no leſſe renowned, and in this more to be obſerved, becauſe a Woman, whoſe ſexe implies a parſimony, relieving the poore diſtreſſed Romans (coupt up in the Walls of *Canna*) making her ſelfe poore, to adde power (by her bounty) to the afflicted.

In theſe examples and expreſſions of Liberality, let this our *Worke* for that Pious Office which we deſire to performe, returne to her former Method; addreſſing it ſelfe to a commemoration of ſo faire a Subject: with which Princely and Noble Diſpoſitions are moſt taken, and by which thoſe who depend on others bounty, are ſeaſonably relieved.

The bounteous diſpoſitions of many noble Perſonages Hiſtorically amplifide.

Now, this excellent Vertue, or if you will, Ornament of Majeſty, derives her Originall (as may be probably gathered) from two eſpecial Fountaines: *true Iudgement* in diſcerning; and *charitable benevolence* in commiſerating. For whenſoever it ſprings from theſe, Bounty may ever give a reaſon of what it gives, and to whom it imparts it ſelfe. For though the greatneſſe of the gift winne grace and love to the giver; yet the ſeaſon or opportunity of giving makes it more effectuall to the receiver.

Examples of opportunate bounty, extracted from the Store-houſe of Hiſtory.

That *Fabius*, whom we formerly remembred, ſhewed ſingular arguments of this bounty, whoſe example we the rather preſſe afreſh, becauſe the *Opportunity* of his bounty added to the eſtimate of it: The gift beſtowed was but ſmall, but the ſeaſon made it great. A little ſumme of money inlarged the continuance of his memory. For

having redeem'd at *Hannibals* hand, the liberty of ſuch priſoners as had beene taken by him, in thoſe Warres. When the City of *Rome* would not diſcharge that ſumme, for which he had articulated: he ſent his owne Sonne to *Rome*, purpoſely to ſet at ſale the whole Farme he had from his Anceſtors. He valued little his owne Patrimony, in regard of the redemption of a Priſoners liberty; and ſo free his Countrey, whoſe fame he prized above Life, from breach of promiſe, and ſo deepe a brand of infamy.

Now, if we ſhould account the price of what he gave, it was but ſmall. This Hereditary Farme conſiſted but of ſeaven Acres; and thoſe lying in *Papinia*: but when we conſider the mind of the Giver, we ſhall find no maſſe of money ſo great, but it appeares greater. The Inheritance of his Predeceſſours muſt be ſet at ſale, rather than his indeared Countrey ſuffer the leaſt ſtaine. He had rather loſe his Farme, than ſhee ſhould loſe her Fame. Wherein he ſeemes by his noble endeavours to deſerve greater commendation, ſhewing himſelfe ſo willing to extend his bounty (in an act of ſuch neceſſity) even to the utmoſt of his ability; farre out-ſtripping ſuch, who give farre within their power, or from their ſuperfluity: for whereas the One beſtoweth what he may, the Other more than he may.

No Lines, were they never ſo full of Life and Memory, can ſufficiently advance that aſpiring Spirit of *Roman* Liberality; when after the overthrow

throw of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, all *Greece* aſſembled together to be witneſſes of ſuch a Spectacle; *Quintus Flaminius* (of whom I ſhall occaſionally ſpeake hereafter) commanding ſilence by the ſound of a Trumpet, commanded theſe words to be publiſhed by the Cryer: "The Senat, Peo-"ple, Queſtors of *Rome*, and *Quintus Flaminius* "her Generall, command that all thoſe Cities "of *Greece*, which were under the late dominion "of *Philip* ſhall enjoy all freedome and infran-"chiſement. Which words were no ſooner heard, then thoſe people taken with a great and unexpected joy, at firſt, as if they had not beleev'd their owne eares, they kept ſilence. But when the ſame words were re-delivered by the Cryer, to enforce more credit in the Hearer, they deafned the Aire with ſuch a ſhrill ſhout, as for certaine the very Birds which flew above them, amazed and raviſhed with the ſound, fell from the Aire.

Surely, it was an argument of a nobly-diſpoſed mind to free ſo many Captives from reſtraint, and to beſtow the ſame liberty upon them, which the people of *Rome*, glorious by her many victories, had ſometimes beſtowed on their richeſt Cities. And to adde a greater luſtre or majeſty to that worke of bounty, it conduceth much to commemorate not onely the liberality of the Giver, but the free aſſent or approbation of the people to that Gift: for as there is a Commendation due to the act recorded, ſo likewiſe to the praiſe it ſelfe deſervingly rendred.

But

But while *Rome* ſends forth ſuch noble Branches, who in ſo flouriſhing and fruitfull a Mother beſtowed all honour, her owne Munificence ſhould not be buried in ſilence. And redound it will highly to her praiſe, to recount what a brave bounteous mind ſhe ſhewed to Kings, Cities and Countries: ſeeing, the honour of every deſerving action, the more it is revived, the more it ſpreadeth in beauty.

When *Rome* had taken all *Aſia*, ſhe beſtow'd it as a gift upon King *Attalus*, to poſſeſſe; imagining that the Soveraignty of her Imperiall City would appeare ſo much more glorious and ſpecious, if ſhe beſtowed the richeſt and pleaſantſt part of the World for a benefit to another, rather than keepe it as a ſtore-houſe for her ſelfe. Eſpecially, where the victory it ſelfe is the happieſt gift? becauſe, as to poſſeſſe much begetteth envy, ſo to give of that we poſſeſſe, cannot want glory.

It cloſeth with more Majeſty to make Kings, than to be a King. *Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

That bounteous and royall expreſſion of victorious *Cyrus* to his ſucceſſive Allies, deſerves a due memory. Who, at ſuch a time as he was to try Maſteries for a Kingdome with his Grandſire *Aſtiages*, exhorted ſuch as were his Aſſiſtants in that Warre, that they ſhould with all alacrity go on in that Service: for if he proſperouſly ſucceeded in that fight, as the juſtneſſe of his cauſe, the equity of the quarrell, and hopefull predictions by knowing Augurs aſſured nothing leſſe: he would make foote-men horſe-men; and of Horſe-men Charrioters. Great mindes are not for

for ſmall gifts. Eminent Perſonages muſt ever ſecond their quality with rich Preſents.

The like diſpoſition ſhewed *Lucullus* in his Princely entertainment to all ſuch Perſons of quality as repaired to him. Beautifull walkes he had to receive them; bountifull Tables to Feaſt them; choiceſt Conſorts to converſe with them; Melodious ayres to delight them; curious Pictures to entertaine them. Nothing ſo much diſreliſh'd him as to ſee his Hoſpitality want a Subject; or his deſire to extend his bounty, an occaſion to expreſſe it. Strangers could not there want for repoſe. A free welcome they receiv'd without being ever queſtion'd from whence they came, or when they would goe. This differ'd far from that Adage:

Vnius noctis peregrinus Hoſpes,
Proximæ gratus minùs eſt Amicis,
Tertiæ vultus patietur hoſtis
Dira minantis.

Gueſts of one Night ſtay may be kindly welcome,
Gueſts of a next night are not held ſo toothſome,
Gueſts of a third night are reputed noiſome
To the Receiver.

This was that *L. Lucullus*, of whom *Cicero* reporteth, that when hee went from *Rome* to make Warre upon *Mithridates*, he was altogether unſkilfull of Military affaires: yet in the time of his Navigation hee ſo experienc'd himſelfe, as by the confeſſion of the King, he was preferred aboue all others for judgement in Martiall ſervice.

That bounteous mind of *Eutrapelus*, of whom that incomparable Lyrick makes ſuch a free and *Hor.*

genuine mention; deſerves all eſteeme. Thoſe things, which our Age moſt fooles herſelfe in, he with much ſleightneſſe gave away to his foes. A curi[ous] us neat dreſſe could not ſo take him: nor the faſhions of the time ſo delude him, but hee could with all indifferency forgo them: ſtripping himſelfe of all occaſion of being proud, to infatuate his profeſt foes with his pride.

But no bounty ever powr'd it ſelfe forth more freely, nor beſtow'd it ſelfe more deſervingly, than of that brave *Millaneiſe*; who profeſſing himſelfe ever a conſtant Patron to the Muſes; and falling caſually into diſcourſe with a Stranger, whoſe rich expreſſions (as he conceiv'd) diſcover'd him to be a Scholler: he deſired much to heare the courſe of his Travaile: Who, to ſatiſfie ſo juſt a demaund, related to him, amongſt other paſſages, what cold entertainment hee had received, amongſt many who profeſt themſelves Favorites of Learning: but of one *Grande* above all the reſt, where he no ſooner repaired, then he was unhoſpitably diſmiſſed. Leave hee tooke of him, and leave hee quickly gave him: which, to ſet forth the better to life he returned a briefe of his entertainmant in the ſe Stanza's:

Good leave I had, for none did me importune
To take my late repoſe, ſo as I found
Men ſhap'd their lookes according to my fortune,
Which forced me to traverſing my ground
To find ſome place with my condition ſorting,
Where to retire but not to ſeeke reliefe.
I thought it fit'ſt to deſcant on my griefe.

And

And cauſe I had to grieve to ſee the time
So much deprav'd, as I perceived than
None could to Greatneſſe but by Fortune clime,
And that it was the meanes that made the man,
Which I applide unto that Fate of mine;
Deviſing how to paſſe the night away, (*day.*
Till th' Morning Star ſhould guide th' approaching

Theſe Lines wrought ſo ſtrongly upon that bounteouſly-diſpoſed *Millanoiſe*, as commiſerating the Condition of a contemned Scholler, he returned him this Regreet. "It is true, Sir, De-"ſert receives not alwayes entertainment; for as "you ſhall encounter with ſome who cannot di-"ſtinguiſh of worth; ſo you ſhall meete with o-"thers who will not acknowledge Worth, pur-"poſely to ſpare their wealth. You ſhall not finde "all hearts ſo affected, nor all mens Judgments "ſo filmed. Remaine with me, Sir, and wel-"come; Be a Commander, while you are heere a "Sojourner. I have a *Wardroabe* heere for the "*Muſes*, if they be naked; and a Place richly "endowed too, if for retirement they be diſpo-"ſed. Nothing ſhall be awanting to them, ſo "they be not awanting to themſelves. It ha's "beene and ever ſhall be held mine higheſt Ho-"nour, to be eſteemed worthy the entertainment "of a Scholler.

But we proceed in this Branch of our Hiſtory, to other remarkable Inſtances for Liberality.

Quintus Conſidius (of all moſt memorable)

An Vſurer never found his Countries Friend.

an Uſurer and Bountifull; a blacke Swan was never rarer: the Pagan Uſurer (it ſeemes) had a conſcience, which our Chriſtian Uſurer wants: for in that bloody, and inhumane Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, ſecond to none, our Moderne Counterbuffe, our Powder-treaſon excepted: hee remitted all his Debtors, laying his Bills and Bonds upon one pile, making a Bone-fire with them: where I make no queſtion, but the Uſurers continuall Cuſtomers, the Poët *Archias*, and his Eccho, the Actor *Roſcius* had reaſon to ſweare: *Quod nunquam ignem vidiſſent clariorem*: That they never ſaw a clearer or more comfortable fire in all their dayes. It may be *Conſidius* did this, becauſe he ſaw the diſability of his Debtors (for thoſe Civill Commotions had much empoveriſhed all Eſtates) and therefore in policy, once to expreſſe his bounty, thought it fitteſt to forgive them that, which they were not able to give. More worthy is the memory of *Quintius Flaminius*, who in an *Iſtmian* Triumph, in the preſence of his Countries foe, the daring *Philip* of *Macedon*, redeemed ſuch as were *Philips* Captives at his owne charge: Worthy our obſervation it is, willing to anſwer ſo publick Solemnity, with an univerſall-concording harmony, making ſuch free Spectators, that were before in ſervitude.

An Vſurer bountifull againſt his will.

Examples of Bounty amongſt the *Syracuſans*.

The modeſt Prince *Hiero* of *Syracuſa*, who in meere compaſſion of the ſlaughter of the *Romans*, at the Lake *Thraſimenus*, ſent to the afflicted remnant of that wofull Army, three hundred Thouſand Buſhels of Wheate, two hundred of Barley,

ley, and two hundred and forty pound weight of Gold to relieve their wants, and manifeſt his royall bounty. I may annexe the memorable example of *Gillia* of *Agrigentum*, who was rich in Mines, but much more rich in minde, alwayes rather inclined to diſtribute than ſcrape: ſo as his houſe (and that not undeſervedly) was called *Officina Munificentia*, a Ware-houſe of Bounty; erecting Monuments for publick uſe, that the eyes of the people might be delighted with ſo gratefull ſpectacles: Here were prepared ſumptuous Feaſts, yeelding and miniſtring food, and all other neceſſaries for the ſuſtaining Nature, to all way-faring men, beſtowing dowers upon Maids, and relicfe to the poore, miniſtring plenty of comfort (out of his Royall Exchequer) to ſuch as had ſuſtained any detriment, or damage. To be briefe, hee kept open Hoſpitality, receiving five hundred *Celenſian* Gentlemen at one time, by occaſion of Tempeſt driven upon his Coaſt, which he fed at his owne Table; and at their departure royally adorned them with ſumptuous Garments. To be ſhort, thou wouldſt not (ſaith our Hiſtory) have taken him for any Mortall, for he was too liberall, but the very Bounties-boſome of propitious Fortune.

Planted is this City *Agrigentum*, on that flowry Mountaine *Agragas*.

A Memorable Inſtance of Hoſpitality.

Thou haſt ſeene theſe Examples of Liberality; I will now unrip thy owne Caſket, and ſee what worthy Pictures thou haſt lockt up in it. I ſee many bagges of mould, but not one ragge of Conſcience: great Cheſts ramm'd up with inexorable barres, crammed with Avarice, Famine,

and Oppreſſion. *Lucifer* is thy Treaſurer, proving a faithfull ſervant: for hee will not cheate thee for a World, leſt hee ſhould loſe his part of thee in the World to come. Thou committeſt to him the Keyes of thy Conſcience; which opens and ſhuts upon all occaſions: Hee being one of thy Family, how canſt thou chuſe but be proſperous? Yet beleeve me (thy end will be poore and miſerable) not one of thoſe many Angels thou poſſeſſeſt, like a good Angell, will guard, or give thee ſo much as the leaſt taſte of Comfort. I come not to inſtruct thee, like a Divine, but to illuſtrate my Aſſertions by Hiſtoricall Examples, which I have here placed before thee, to deterre thee from their life, that thou mayeſt avoid their death.

Miſerable ends of Miſers.

Avarice, or (which is extended further) Miſery, was beſt exemplified in *Hermon*; who to deceive his owne friends, and deprive them of that which he made his God; at his Death, made himſelfe his owne Executor: This man would be loath to loſe ſo precious a Friend; Death muſt not part him and his Riches. No queſtion but his Opinion was, hee might purchaſe himſelfe a Tabernacle of reſt with his ruſt: and tranſlated from the vale of Earth, might erect himſelfe a Manſion of pure Gold, for hee carryed the ſtuffe with him. I could heere produce infinite other Examples, which, to avoid tediouſneſſe, I omit, and returne to our Diſcourſe.

Hiſtory may yeeld no leſſe profit to the Prodigall,

digall, who makes himſelfe the laſt of his name; who no ſooner (yea oft-times ſooner) than he hath ſhut his Fathers eyes, opens his Fathers Cheſt, and wipes away the remembrance of his Fathers Death, with the *Evidence* and *Broad Seale* of his Fathers love: he had need of ſome direction.

Many of theſe are no ſooner come to their Lands, than they run out of their Witts. They were ſicke of a Father while hee lived; and now they live to become a prey to others, by whom they are more uſually jeered than loved. Now, to diſplay this brave Prodigalls humour, and render him in his true Colours; I ſhall not need to beſtow much paines upon him, ſeeing the Satyre h'as already ſo exactly done it for him:

The Prodigals humour diſplayed.

Sad goes he to his Fathers Grave,
But glad do'es he returne,
For why! his baggs cram'd with re'd Ladds
Doe bid him ceaſe to mourne.

Triſtis adit tumulum, redituru lætior Hæres,
Suſcipit ut loculos æra micante ſuos.

Theſe eaſie Obſequies once done; he muſt of neceſſity fall into acquaintance with all thoſe Officious Creatures, whoſe abilities conduce much to the making up of a Gentleman. He, who now ſtands reſolv'd never to meaſure his owne expence, muſt be meaſur'd by his Taylor; accommodated by his ſweet-ſented Milliner; Bever'd by his Haberdaſher; ſtand nearely indeared to his amorous Sempſter. Having thus throwne away his Sable dreſſe, and ſuited himſelfe *Capape* to

His Faunes or Followers, his Spunges.

to the fashion of the Time: He must have Faunes or Followers to spunge him. Such, in one word, as never knew what reputation meant; nor were ever acquainted with what credit meant, farther than running on score. And these must be the Carvers out of his estate. Excellent Stewards to manage a fortune!

Now, if this Gentele Gallant set his rest for the City; the height of his ambition is to receive instruction from *Corranto's* and *Play-bills*. These Notions must regulate the whole course of his Living. Acquaintance he h'as got him; and such as meane to *gull* him and *gueld* him of that wherewith his Father did *guild* him. For such is the misery of man, as he cannot endure to be seene in that place, where he is not best himselfe. Associates he h'as from all quarters of the World, and of all qualities, save good. Some Bilbow Blades he meetes withall, and those either for feare of an affront; or purposely, to make them his Champions upon occasions of quarrell, he makes *Guard le Corpse*. And these can humour him to an haire; call him their *Annibal*: and that Title payes for all. If hee fall into acquaintance with a decayed Artist; whose prodigall course h'as brought him to partake of Cheate. He will not sticke upon the very first Salute to become his *Ingle*. And this Honeysuckle must broake for him (being that wherewith he h'as beene from his Infancy vers'd) in counterfeit Jewels: and these must bee return'd to him for rich ones. For the *graines* of his discerning

diſcerning judgement were long ſince ſcattered: ſo as, he may reſt ſecure for diſcovery.

To ſatisfie his Senſes one Night, it muſt coſt him as much as his Fathers care gathered in a whole yeare. But now after many unrighteous Bills diſcharg'd; the Moone beginnes to be i'th waine with him. His Exchequer in the Country, affords him no ſuch freſh nor frequent ſupply for his Port, ſport and ſupport in the City, as it uſed to doe. For want then of other profits and emolluments, he muſt be forced to take up *Commodities*. Dainty traſh to maintaine his traine! But nothing violent can be permanent: that Conduit is ſoone dryed up. In a word, hee never takes up with himſelfe, till he be taken up by others. He was drunke all this time, and now *reſtraint* h'as brought him to himſelfe, and made him ſuffer.

But if the Prodigalls humour be ſuch, as it confines him to the Countrey, without any farther aſpiring either to Court or City; becauſe hee's no *Letterd* man, he h'as choſen to beſtow his meanes upon the pleaſures of *H* which is no *Letter*. His onely Diſcourſe is in commendation of his *Hound*; from whom he differs onely in *Sent*; for coupled they might bee well together for *Sence*. His *Horſe* cannot gallop faſter in Chace, than hee out of his eſtate. His *Hauke* flies ſo high, as ſhe leſſens her ſelfe; which may ſerve for his Embleme: having flowne ſo long a flight, as he hath leſſen'd himſelfe both in credit and fortune: both which after a long mou-

ting, ſcatter abroad like Feathers in the Aire. His *Courtezan* (to cloſe his illiterate Alphabet in one) h'as left him; and vowes ſhe cannot love him, becauſe he h'as loſt his wits: but indeed, the loſſe of his eſtate is the reaſon. Shee bids him for want of better maintenance, goe to an Hoſpitall; and ſhe at leaſure will follow after: and no ſooner than neede requires; for as hee ſtands in neede of reliefe, ſo ſhe of a Plaiſter.

His Fathers injurious doings, his undoing: his raiſing, his ruine.

Whence we may collect (though there be no neceſſary inference of any ſuch Collection; ariſing rather from the corruption of a youthfull vicious diſpoſition) that a Fathers injurious doing, becomes oftimes his Heires undoing; the Fathers raiſing, the Sonnes ruine.

Oh let theſe young *Lapwings*, who leave their neſt before they can finde wing, and make their pleaſure a Labyrinth of Labour, looke homeward!

The young mans maze.

There be many mazes for the young man: I have knowne many expoſed to all delights, and (as it were) ſold under the gage of proſtitution, who by Hiſtoricall obſervations have not onely reclaimed their former errour, but grew ſingular mirrours of purity. No queſtion, if *Catiline*, whoſe mind was ever ſubjected to illimited affections, had but peruſed the excellent relations of his noble Predeceſſors, he had not beene onely able to extinguiſh that common and univerſall cumbuſtion, which his aſpiring ſpirit raiſed to conſume his whole Countrey; but had beene memorable for his owne attchievements:

Our predeceſſors vertues, motives of imitation.

for

for the beſt of *Roman* Hiſtorians (that I may uſe the Words of the beſt Commenter upon * *Criſpus Saluſtus*) ſaw thus much into his diſpoſition, that ſo long as he retired himſelfe from thoſe factious and mutinous ſpirits, *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, with others of that hatefull conſort, none ſhewed himſelfe a more profitable member to the Common-weale, or more ready to endanger himſelfe for her availe; imploying his time in ſerious diſcourſes; which not onely moderated his affections, but poiſed him to the equall ballance of a vertuous Diſcourſe: which afterwards perverted by the depraved ſuggeſtions of thoſe Ruffins, reduced thoſe faire beginnings to nothing, and him to a miſerable death, and perpetuall infamy.

* *Quem proprietatis ſervantiſſimum, vocat* Gellius.

The very ſame effect we ſee in all other Vices (which would be well extenuated) if vitious mindes would apply themſelves to theſe, and the like Diſcourſes: we ſhould have our drunkards ſee into their owne ſhame, deblazoned by the *Epirotes*; our Epicures by the ravenous *Vitellij*; ſpending their fortunes in pampering their worſt houſhold ſervant; our carnall Brotheliſts, by thoſe impudent proſtitutes in *Neroes* time, who were never weary of their ſhame, till their publicke filthineſſe ingendred a loathing in the profeſſours themſelves: looke to theſe mens ends! Oh, how long might I proſecute this argument without want of copious Diſcourſe! Here producing an *Heliogabilus*, generally hated for his inſatiate Luſt, and leaſt pittied in that ebbe of

Hiſtories beſt diſcoverers of errours.

Inſtances of famous delinquents.

his frailty (his miſerable death) when men uſe moſt to be pittied, being attended at his funerals with Military reproaches: "Here goe we to "bury a Dogge of diſtempered luſts: there, a wanton *Meſſalina*, rewarded with a death beſeeming her. Here, an aſpiring *Sejanus*, ſhaken with an unexpected end, and made miſerable in his beſt fortunes, interred with dry eyes: For who will pitty the fall of Ambition? There an *Heroſtratus* (memorable for nothing but villany) purchaſing by his fame an infamous end. Here, a bloody *Perillus*, expert in the invention of cruell Projects, puniſhed with the Torture of his owne Invention: There, a fleering Paraſite, who circumvents himſelfe with his owne policy.

Such exemplary motives be frequent in Hiſtories, and able in themſelves (if duly pondered) to enforce Nature from her ſelfe, and reduce Man, primarily addicted to this or that Vice, to a conſideration of his owne eſtate, wiſely foreſeeing his owne danger by others miſery; wiſely; Cautioning the young man to levell his affections at another ſcope, than the depraved intendments of the time wherein he liveth; making difference betwixt ſence and reaſon: the one common to Beaſts with men: the other a diſ-junct propriety onely to man from beaſts: For reaſon, the directreſſe of our underſtanding, the limiter of our affections within honeſt bounds, the Touch-ſtone to dijudicate what is good, from what is ill, the intellectuall Notion of the ſoule, ſhould

Hiſtory the beſt Touch-ſtone to dijudicate 'twixt what is good and ill.

ſhould bee ever the conducter of our fancies; which is beſt ſhown, when (*Antomedon*-like) we can delineate Vertue in no better ſhadow, than the Tablet of our owne Hearts; expreſſing our ſelves the beſt by that, which makes our ſelves the beſt, to wit, in proſecuting Vertue with an earneſtneſſe, that in the end we may become Maſters of our ſelves, governours of our affections, and right Siegniors over our in-diſpoſed Fancies. How to bee Maſters over our ſelves.

What admirable Effects have bin and may be drawne from *Hiſtory*, to ſubdue and regulate our affections, who is he knoweth not, preſuppoſing him converſant in ſuch generous ſtudies? This may be eaſily gathered by that very heat or vertuous emulation we ſhall find even in our ſelves, upon peruſal of others commendable actions. For as we are allured by the beauty of goodneſſe, to deſire nothing more then to be poſſeſſed of it: knowing, no outward beauty comparable to it; ſo are we deterred from ſhewing any affection to vice, for the deformity of it: and thoſe odious fruits which burgen from it. Admirable effects drawne from Hiſtory, in ſubduing our affections.

Laïs, though of all *Greek* Curtezans, none more comely, came far ſhort of *vertue* for true beauty: and *Naïs*, though none more ougly, came nothing neare *vice* for her deformity.

When the *Carthage* Queene heard the ſad Relation of that amorous *Trojan*, touching all thoſe Tragicke paſſages during the ſiege and deſtruction of *Troy*, ſhe could not take a Survey of ſuch a diſcourſe without the attendance of ſome Prince-

ly compaſſionate teares. Such ſtrong impreſſions beare others actions in the Theatrall Act of this Life.

No Malady but may finde a receipt to cure her, or allay her diſtemper by the helpe of Hiſtory.

But to apply receipts to every diſtinct malady; and by Hiſtoricall helpes miniſter to every ſeverall ſore a ſoveraigne remedy; tell me, you *Iudicious Readers of Hiſtorie*, is there any diſtemper whereof you labour, which you ſhall not find chaced and chaſticed by ſome Hiſtoricall Example! Yea, anſwere me in all or any of theſe, if at any time you find your ſelves peſtred with any of theſe, if Receipts (according to the quality of thoſe diſtempers) may not be found out for a ſeaſonable cure of theſe!

Doth *vaine-glory* tranſport you; that Spirit of Pride which makes man forgetfull of himſelfe? you ſhall find in *Hiſtory*, many Examples to deterre you from it. You ſhall there, as in a tranſparent Mirror, behold the *Lydian Craſus* ſitting in his chaire of State, beautifi'd with the exquiſiteſt accomplements that the Majeſty of a King could put on; and Him you ſhall heare thus Enthroned, thus adorned, asking a wiſe Sage (to diſcover his folly the more) if ever he beheld a more beautefull or gracefull Spectacle? And you ſhall heare this vaine piece of Princely Pompe jeered to his face. "Yes, ſayes he, Dunghill "Cockes, Phesants, Peacockes: for theſe are "cloathed with a native beauty, whereas yours "is but a borrowed glory. Whence, you ſhall find that Sentence of *Menander* rightly verified: "*Every foole is carried away with arrogance and* "*applauſe.*

Diog. Laërt.

Menand.

You

You ſhall likewiſe heare *Antiochus* (to illuſtrate more fully the miſery of *vaine-glory*) at one time ſaluted a glorious Prince, and a furious Tyrant.

Againe, are you naturally addicted to that Groundling vice of *Avarice?* you ſhall find what brave contempt of riches appeared in Ethnick Breaſts. This you may find portraide to life in a *Phocion, Solon, Crates, Anacharſes, Cimon, Timon, Fabritius.* Nothing held Theſe to be more contemptible, then what true wiſedome moſt contemned.

Or ſtand you enthralled to *Paſſion*, which makes the wiſeſt man a Bedlamer for the inſtant? You ſhall find excellent meanes to attemper this commotion. Leſſons given by Pagans unto Pagans, and worthy to be left for golden Legacies by Chriſtians unto Chriſtians.

That wiſe *Athenodorus*, departing from *Auguſtus*, and taking his leave, to expreſſe a Philoſophers love, left this Leſſon with him, deſerving well to be imprinted by him: *That when he was angry, or intended to pronounce any ſentence upon a delinquent, he ſhould repeate the foure and twenty Greeke letters.* Which leſſon *Cæſar* received as an ornament in value more precious then a Diadem.

You ſhall likewiſe find an *Architas* no leſſe commended; hearing him leaſt expreſſe it, when moſt incenſed. If he find his Hinde idling, he can keep his patience, and diſcreetly admoniſh him: *O how would I have beaten thee, had I not bin angry with thee!*

Or

Or doth that rankling vice, *Envy*, eating up the heart and marrow of her Maſter, ſeaze on you? you ſhall heare what a brave Platonicke Common-weale ſometimes flouriſhed; when that Law of Nature, holding poſſeſſion of all things in common, was in requeſt.

Before *Carthage* was deſtroyed, *Rome* both quietly and modeſtly govern'd her affaires. There was no contending nor conteſting for glory nor commaund amongſt her Citizens; they guided all things peaceably, and ſucceeded in all things proſperouſly. That antient *Kings-evill*, deſire of raigning and invading had not as then infected them. Whence you may truly collect, by application had to theſe preſent times, what that glorious Divine out of his owne Experience ſometimes obſerved, *If theſe two Pronouns* MINE *and* THINE *would but ceaſe, there would not ariſe ſuch differences in the world.*

Si duo iſta Pronomina Meum *&* Tuum *ceſſarent, non eſſent tot diſcordiæ in mundo.* Stell. *de Contempt. Mund.*

Or if a Liquoriſh *appetite* captivate reaſon; you ſhall read in a *Laconian*, what moderation would ſuite well with a *Chriſtian*. Here you may find a whole *Pythagorean* ſtate: nothing more affected then Moderation; nothing leſſe reliſhing then licentious ſurfeiting.

Or if unbounded *Senſuality* wanton in you: you ſhall find what you want, exemplifide in a *Zeno*, a *Zenocrates*; and not only in Philoſophers, but victorious Princes. Where you ſhall ſee brave *Cleopatra* (one who ſometimes bare a Majeſticall Soveraignty in her eye; and could inſult over a Prince with a ſcornefull looke, and make him her

her ſlave with a ſmile) kneeling at the feet of *Caſar*, laying baits for his eyes; but in vaine: her beauties were beneath that Princes chaſtity.

Or deſire you to be retir'd, or to feed your remiſſe Spirits with *Sloth?* Oh what ſpurs you ſhall find to quicken your dulled and rebaited courage? what animoſity in thoſe who were mannagers of Martiall affaires? what induſtry in all Arts and Sciences? what deliberation in undertaking, what reſolution in executing?

Lucullus cannot enjoy himſelfe in his owne Tent. A noble Spirit ever finds it ſelfe active for employment.

Thus ſhall you find preſented before you, whatſoever may in the homely habit of *Vertue* allure you: or whatſoever cloathed with the odious viſage of *vice* may deterre you. Nor is it poſſible to find out any Morall way better to regulate or marſhall your affections, than by a ſerious Survey had, and uſefull application made of theſe Hiſtoricall relations.

But to come more neare thee in this ſecond part of my Diviſion, we muſt diſtinguiſh of the ſeverall *fruits* and *effects* of Hiſtory, directed to peculiar ends: As firſt, art thou a Lover, and deſireſt to complement with thy beloved? Thou art in a dangerous way, and if thou wiſely ſelect not ſuch Hiſtories, as may (like ſoveraignes) rather allay and moderate thy braine-ſick paſſion, than kindle the fire of thy ſenſeleſſe reaſon, be lulled with nightly apparitions of thy beloved faire one, to what exorbitances ſhalt thou be

made ſubject? But I know the Nature of thy ſickneſſe: thou art like one who hath taken poyſon; and though Drinke be mortall to him, yet he longeth out of all meaſure for it. There is no Subject ſo fitting thy humour, as amorous Sonnets, Hiſtoricall Relations, carolling out the diſcontents of unſatisfied love.

Paſſions proceeding from braine-ſicke Lovers, &c.

Leander ſwimming over *Helleſpont*, to crop a bloſſome already cropped. *Achylles* retiring diſcontented for the loſſe of his *Briſeis*, *Agamemnon* for his *Chryſeis*: theſe are Subjects for thy Love-ſick Fancy; whereas oppoſites to Love, (Morall Relations, inſtructing thee in a more equall and reaſonable path) would better cure thy diſeaſe, and bring thee to an underſtanding of thy ſelfe. Abſence (wee ſay) from our Miſtreſſe, makes us moſt forgetfull of her; and leaſt we thinke of her when wee diſcourſe of Arguments leaſt concerning her: whilſt reading Idle Pamphlets, the very bane and canker of Youth, and Age too: for Age is as ſubject to Dotage, as Youth to Fancy; putting us in mind of our former diſtracting paſſions, crying: *Nec me minor urget Amor*: with hard-hearted Miſtreſſe, inconſtant Dame, fickle in affection, inconſtant in thy Reſolution; ſhedding as many teares as would drowne his Miſtreſſe, if ſhe were not ſo light, as ſhe is able to beare herſelfe above water. Alas poore Lover! and whereto ſo many fruitleſſe wiſhes, ſo diſcomfortable laments, ſo diſcordant Echo's of redoubled ſighes, *Aye me unhappy!* Thou knoweſt not how theſe reaſonleſſe perturba-

A Lovers Ecphoneſis.

perturbations make thee more loathed than loved, more intranced than fancied; and more beleagred with paſſions anew, than to ſalve thoſe paſſions wherewith thou wer't tormented of old.

Read the continent Life of *Zenocrates*, dedicated wholly to Chaſtity; not a *Laïs* (though never ſo motive) can induce him to gage his reputation to a Harlot. Read me the noble diſpoſition of *Scipio Affrican*, who ſcorn'd to make himſelfe a Slave to his fancy: the royall mind of that potent *Alexander*, who would not captive his affection to his Captive: the undeſtained Reſolution of the Matron *Antonia*, Wife to *Druſus*: that chaſt Tragedian *Sophocles*, who being demanded, whether hee ever applyed his mind to ſenſuall affections, replyed; *Dij meliora*: "Heaven forefend, a Strumpet ſhould put on a "Tragick Buſkin. Theſe continent Relations will reduce thy ſtragling motions to a more ſetled and retired harbour.

Looke upon the Hiſtory of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

Vid. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 30.

And ſurely, did we but know what *Honour* takes her repoſe in ſo ſweet an *Harbour*; wee would ſoone ſtrike Anchor. Firſt then, wee will here ſhew to you what *Honour* is to be aſcribed to *Continence*. How much the very Pagans (whoſe deſires onely clos'd in Morall Honeſty) valued this precious Jemme. How votive Virgins chuſed rather to be deprived of Life, than of their Honour. And how thoſe who violated that religious Vow, ſuffer'd the very extreameſt kind of Cenſure: Whereof *Campus Martius* was ever

Here he ſhews what honour is to be aſcribed to Continence.

Vid. Var. Val. Max. Gell. Strab. &c.

made the Tragicke Theatre, I leave to those who have writ amply of that Subject.

Memorable is the Story of that noble Lady *Armenia*; who being bidden to King *Cyrus* Wedding, went thither with her Husband: at Night when they were returned home, her Husband asked her, how she liked the Bridegroome; whether she thought him to be a faire and beautifull Prince or no? "In truth, said she, I know not: "for all the while I was forth, I cast mine eyes "upon none other but upon thy selfe.

One of *Hiëro's* Enemies reproaching him with a stinking breath, went home and questioned his Wife why shee told him nothing thereof: but what was her Reply? "I thought, quoth she, all "men had the same savour.

To continue the Memory of their Conjugall Constancy and Nuptiall Continence, you shall ever in these Creatures of the weaker Sexe, finde admirable Motives both for Instruction and Imitation.

Cannia, Wife to *Synattus*, whom one *Synoris*, a man of greater Authority than he, loved; and making no small meanes by prayer, price, and power to obtaine her love, yet all in vaine; supposed the readiest way for the effecting his desires to be the murd'ring of her Husband: which he performed: and no sooner executed, than hee renewed his Suite, to which she seemed to assent. But being solemnely come into the Temple of *Diana* for the celebrating those Nuptiall Rites, she had a sweet potion ready which she drunke to

Synoris:

Synoris: wherewith they both were poiſoned; to revenge her Huſbands death.

The like admirable Conſtancy ſhew'd *Theogena* Wife to *Agathocles*, in her Huſbands greateſt miſery; approving her ſelfe moſt his owne, when hee was relinquiſh't and forſaken of his owne: promiſing him, that ſhe would not partake with him onely in proſperity, but in what fortune ſoever ſhould befall him.

That conſtant Loialty, and royall Continency of the incomparable *Zenobia* to her Huſband *Odenatus* (though a Barbarian Queene) cannot be too much admired; her Zeale ſhee expreſt not onely to him living, but dying. No Monument ſhe held fit to containe his Corpſe but her owne body; that carrying his ſhrine ſtill about her (being what ſhe could not remove from her) ſhee might ever reteine him in her memory. But no queſtion, her princely affection to *Hiſtory* had highly increaſed in her this Loialty. For by her reading of others what appeared in others ſo truely commendable, with a pious ambition ſhee aſpired to an imitation thereof in her ſelfe.

The Women of *India* (whether wonne with ſtrength of Cuſtome, or Conjugall Devotion) when any of their Huſbands dyeth, are wont to fall into Contention through the vehemency of their affection, which of them (for they are permitted to have many Wives) hee loved beſt in his life: Shee that winneth, being very joyfull (a great Company of her Friends and Kinsfolke following her, to celebrate her funerall honour)

is cast into the fire with her dead Husband.

But every *Crates* must not looke to be *Polycrates*: such Cognizants must not be for every mans sleeve. That Sentence ever deserves approvement: "As there is a pleasure in loving those to "whom we are espoused, living; so it is an of-"fice of piety to honour them dying. Their life injoynes us to be true to their Bed, their Death exacts no lesse to their memory.

Nor is this *Continence* held onely in esteeme with those who partake of Reason: for even such Creatures as are led by Sense, are no lesse jealous of their Love, nor lesse speedy in revenging Lust: which may be confirmed by this Example.

The History calls him *Crathis*, from the River (as may be supposed) neare which he inhabited.

A certaine libidinous Citizen dwelling in the Towne of *Syberis*, bounding upon the River *Crathis*, so monstruously and unnaturally raged in the heate of immoderate Lust, as on a time, neglecting all humanity, to extinguish the violent flames of his bestiall affection, came to a Shee-goat and coupled with her; which the High-goat, as one seeing, yet reserving revenge for a fitter time, he found this *Syborite* one day fast asleepe; wherefore to redresse the injury of his corrupted Love, and revenge the horrour of his detested Lust, he presently set upon him, and mall'd him to death with his hornes.

But to close all in one; what *Honour* the Ancient *Romans* with other Ethnicks, ascribed to *Continence*: and how much they scorned that the least blemish should be aspersed on their House in that kind, may be made as cleare as light by

that

that memorable Example of *Virginius*. The Story is thus. *Virginius*, one of a *Plebeian* deſcent, but of a Patritian ſpirit, leſt his Houſe ſhould be diſhonoured, ſpared not his owne blood. For when *Appius Claudius*, one of the *Decem-viri*, ſought with ſtrong hand to deflower his Daughter, being a Virgin, *Virginius* brought her into the Market-place, and there kill'd her, chuſing rather to be her Murtherer, undefiled, than her Father, deflowred. *Val. Max. lib. 6 cap. 1.*

Now, having ſhowne you the *Honour* due to *Continence*; I would have you in the ſecond place to conſider, how ſoone a precious Name is loſt: and with what difficulty regain'd. It is not ſufficient for you to refraine onely from doing ill, but from doing ought that may be ſuſpected for ill. Variety of Examples you ſhall finde every where in this kind. A Name highly priz'd, and quickly loſt: and being loſt, not the wealth of the *Indies* could redeeme. How ſoone a precious name is loſt; with what difficulty re-gain'd.

Thirdly, reflect upon the pleaſure how ſhort it is: and of the purchaſe, what ſhame it is. *Demoſthenes* could anſwer *Laïs* deare demmand for ſo ſhort a pleaſure, "*I will not buy Repentance at ſo* "*deare a rate.*" And a farre more precious gage he had to loſe, if an Ethnick light could have mounted ſo high. With the like Anſwer ſleight every light Courtezans proffer; aſcribing to that ineſtimable Jewell of *Continence* all due *Honour*. The pleaſure ſhort; the purchaſe ſhame.

But yet I muſt proceed further; art thou *Ambitious*, and haſt both wings and will to flye? Thou art ſoaring with *Icarus*, and thy waxen wings

wings (no queſtion) muſt be diſſolved with *Icarus*: he gave a Sea a name; but thou haſt a Sea in thine owne braine; thou art floting, and (*Camelion*-like) feedeſt upon the aire of thine owne fancy: Thou art now for building a ſecond *Pyramides* in the aire; and no doubt but thou wouldſt perfect thy intentions, if death prevent thee not.

Thou art a vaine Foole, thou ſeeſt many worthy honouring, daily declining; merits undeſerving, raiſed to height above themſelves: not a Senator, or ſage Purple Father, but ſubjected to an undeſerving cenſure: and what is the cauſe? Why, honour procureth cenſure; and yet thou art well, ſerved well, ſafely retired, not envied, nor maligned by the oppoſites of greatneſſe; and yet thou deſireſt (like another *Phœbus*) to ſhine in the eye of the Court, to ſhew thine owne admiration by a vaine flouriſh, commenting on thine owne perfections, which need ſome Expoſition: for they cannot demonſtrate themſelves. Alas, how ſtrangely art thou tranſported above thy ſelfe! not apprehending how the meanes of riſing oft-times procure an unexpected fall. Conſider thy owne unbridled deſires, and ſeeke to repreſſe them, I pray thee doe; and take this obſervance with thee; Never looke into either moderne Hiſtories or Ancient, for the projects, how they grounded the foundation of their plots; but aime at the end and event of their deſignes, what iſſue they had: there thou ſhalt ſee a *Ceſar* reigne long, and attaine the very height of his hopes; yet his continuance abridged, and his

his new-eſtabliſhed Monarchy (in himſelfe) quite ruinate in a ſtabbe. Here a *Sejanus* (who was *Ferox ſceleris*) a great hunter after cruelty, become the laſt of his aſpiring deſires, and the ſponge (as *Tacitus* obſerveth) who being ſquized, only enriched his Emperours fortunes, and made himſelfe miſerable by his owne fall: for Ambitious men, who leap to greatneſſe, for the moſt part, hoppe without heads, and too late repent their madneſſe.

The fall of Paraſites.

TO run over ever Vice particularly, would require a Treatiſe ampler of themſelves, then I have allotted my ſelfe. Proceed I muſt to my third branch, *The particular profit which redounds to every private ſtate or family, from diſcourſes of this nature.* I know that the naturall depravation of Man is ſuch, as that he fixeth his mind upon that, which (for the moſt part) conferres leaſt profit, and moſt delight: this is lively exemplified even in Hiſtorical Diſcourſes; where we ſhall ſee men (for the moſt part) rather addicted to fabulous Travailes, the Survey of ſtrange and never-heard-of Ilands, prodigious ſights, Monſters, Chymera's, and meere imaginary fancies, then to ſuch narrations as might miniſter inſtruction and benefit to every particular Reader. Some we ſee delighted with the ſtrange and incredible miracles of *Mandevill*: others with the victorious combats of our *Bevis* of *Southampton*: others, more converſant with

Third Branch; *Particular profit* drawne from Hiſtory to particular perſons.

What fabulous Hiſtories more ſuffered than approved.

the Tragick Hiſtories of our time (prodigies in part meerely invented.) And laſt of all (which in my judgement is worſt of all) others with the phantaſtick writings of ſome ſuppoſed Knights, (*Don Quixotte* Transformed into a Knight with the *Golden Peſtle*) with many other fruitleſſe inventions, moulded only for delight without profit. Theſe Hiſtories I altogether exclude my *Oeconomy*, or private Family; I have culd out more beneficiall Diſcourſes for youth to employ themſelves withall; producing a ſubject from the pure Cabinet of Truth: not from the braine of every Quack-ſalver, that runs out his inventions by ſelling lyes at groſſe-ſale.

A witty invention, but full of diſtraction.

TO expreſſe our *Latine* Authors I need not, ſo much is our Country benefited by Tranſlators, as the Neat-heard in his Hovell may diſcourſe as well of *Cornelius Tacitus* (if he know his mothers tongue) as our beſt *Latiniſts*. In my opinion no Argument better for inſtruction then that Author: and if I ſhould dwell upon one, I had rather inſiſt upon his phraſes (though ſeemingly perplexed) then any other *Roman* Author, how perſpicuous ſoever.

Tranquillus writes true, but he unrips the immodeſties of the time with too long diſcourſe upon every particular vice. Nothing (ſayth *Quintilian*,) can be eſteemed more perfect, then the elegancy and brevity of *Saluſts* ſpeech (*Preſertim apud vacuas & eruditas aures*;) and I aſſent to his opi-

Vid. in vit: Neron.

opinion; the ſingularity of his phraſe was (which may ſeeme ſtrange) without affectation: ſo *Aulus Gellius* (a very *Ariſtarchus* for the ſearch of Antiquities) teſtifieth of him. Neither *Fabius* affraid to entitle him, *The chiefe of the Roman Hiſtorians*, as *Thucidides* the Prince of the *Grecians*. Yet in theſe Hiſtories there is an exactneſſe of underſtanding required; and more doe their writings conduce to State-affaires, then private and Domeſtick employment.

Aul. Gel. in Noct. Attic.

Now, to deliver our judgement of divers approved Hiſtorians: extracted from the beſt Authors: *Titus Livius*, by the teſtimony of *Phil. Commines*, as he is to this day had in great honour by the *Italians*, who retaine ſtill a forme of the Antient *Roman* Government, and that in ſome poynts moſt exactly; deſcribes in a ſweete and well-compoſed Style, how that flouriſhing Empire (which afterwards ſwallowed up many eminent States) ſprung up at firſt, how it increaſed, what was done commendably, what viciouſly, during the whole progreſſe of her riſing; till labouring of her owne weight, and preſt downe with her owne Grandeure, her full light fell to be eclyps'd, her height to a declining. Of this Hiſtorian, I have ſpoke in many places; yet me thinkes there is ſtill ſomething omitted that might bee properly annexed for an additament to his praiſe.

☞ His Judgement of divers approved Hiſtorians; extracted from the beſt Authors.

Right well I know (to cloſe in opinion with *Eraſmus*) "that there is no reading more accom-
"modate, no Diſcourſe better ſuiting men of

Erasmus.

"quality than that of *History*; amongst which "*Titus Livius* holds the prime place (I speake of "Latine Historians onely) especially, seeing no-"thing is extant of *Salustis*, but onely two frag-"ments.

In his judgement, then, as no Discourse is more requisitely familiar than with Historians; so he holds *Livie* to be the Prince of all Latine Historians: and fittest to be a Gentlemans acquaintance. Great, no question, was his modesty; his owne Workes may confirme it: "Whether (saith he) "I shall performe that Taske which may seeme "worthy my Labour, if I relate whatsoever hath "beene done by the people of *Rome* from the "first foundation of that City, neither doe "I sufficiently know, neither if I did know, durst "I attempt such an enterprise.

And yet he proceeded in that Labour, and perfected it with great honour: albeit, his pious feare expresst the sweetnesse of his temper. Neither fell he short in Sincerity, though he seemingly pretended a feare, which implide his modesty. For what is rare in Historians, (especially, writing of Princes and their Actions, in their owne times) hee was never taxed of partiality, nor mincing truth: were the Personages of whom he wrote never so great, nor authority in office high.

A Subject, indeed, never worthy the penne of of so deserving an Historian; none could possibly have: nor more variety of actions both in a calme and troubled State. And though Authors

in

in their arguments of Diſcourſe and Hiſtoricall Relation finde ever the largeſt fields to walke in, to be fields of blood: where no day can paſſe without ſome notable action deſerving the memory of a ſucceeding age; yet in that time and ſtate wherein he beſtowed his paines, the retiredſt houres from imployment afforded him an occaſion of delivering ſome Obſervation or other worthy the approvement of a judicious Eye.

For his Style (as I have elſe-where noted) it was nothing ſo darke nor conciſe as that of *Tacitus*. The former more dilated: the latter more contracted. Both ſerious; the latter more ſententious. Theſe ground the firſt face or foundation of a State upon Lawes; and they ſhew with what obedience thoſe were obſerved in their infancy. *Romulus* and *Remus* were both builders; the one materiall, the other mentall. *Numa* begot in His both love and loyalty, by bringing His to underſtand themſelves legally. Now, no ſooner have they planted a State, then they begime to ſtrengthen it with Actions. Deſire of Command calls them abroad. Their Powers muſt be levied, Commanders elected, and thoſe Wars made ſinnewy and ſtrong, that ſome exploit worthy the name of ſuch a Nation may be performed.

And having now preſented the body of a State in her full growth, they ſhew what is done, not without due attributes to them, by whom thoſe actions were done. They runne into com-

mendation of those Agents of Valour, and they conclude; "Such as the Captaine is, such is the "Souldier. They bring in *Scipio*, who used to have this Sentence in his mouth: "That easie, "favourable & affable Captaines were profitable "to the enemy, which though they were beloved "of their Souldiers, yet they set little by them. This, so wise and experienst a Commander could not chuse but make good use of: for the obedience of *Scipio's* Souldiers towards their Generall is confirmed by his owne attestation: "So "observant were mine of whatsoever I com-"manded them, that if I bad them clime to the "toppe of a Tower, and from thence throw "themselves head-long into the Sea, there "was not one of them but would obey me.

Nullus est horum qui non conscensâ turri, semel in mare præcipitat urus sit, si iussero. Plut.

There is no passage to enliven the Spirit of a Souldier, which these omit: and all these couched in so Princely a Style, as without affectation, it comprehends much State. In a word, time shall sooner cease to breath, than posterity to breath their fame.

For the Epitomes of these, as *Luc. Florus* and others; me thinkes they may bee compared to short Commons. They doe well so farre as they goe; but they leave the Reader still with a strong Appetite. Something is ever omitted, which leaves the Stomacke craving and unsatisfide.

It is true indeede, that such Collections are usefull for memory: like briefe Notes or Diaries, which we carry about with us: And for ordinanary

nary Diſcourſe, will ſerve well enough. But a Schollers Hiſtoricall Taske is of more difficulty, than to receive life and ſpirit from an Epitome.

The judiciouſeſt and moſt compendious Epitomizer breathing, ſhould he Analiſe an entire Hiſtory; and after many ſerious re-views and recollections, contract the whole body thereof into a briefe Methodicall Compendiary: So farre ſhort ſhould he find himſelfe fall from the mind of the Author: as upon the next re-view, he would ingenuouſly confeſſe, that he had rather runne over him, than converſed with him.

For *Gellius*, his Diſcourſe rather falls upon Philoſophicall argumentation, than any Hiſtoricall relation. Winter Nights you ſhall finde there well beſtowed. And he Styles them *Athenian Nights*, to expreſſe how thoſe Studies with which *Athens* moſt flouriſhed, were there ſociably debated, Scholaſtically argued, and judiciouſly compoſed. Some Pieces of Naturall Hiſtory are heere and there interveined, which may miniſter occaſion both of profit and delight to ſuch as ſhall ſeriouſly peruſe them.

Touching *Valerius Maximus*, his writings ſtand more upon *Apothegmes* than *Hiſtory*. He takes Survey of ſuch eſpeciall Vertues and Vices as preſſed moſt upon thoſe times. Wherein, he recommends to poſterity ſuch memorable Perſons as were Mirrours for the practiſe of the One; and rigid Cenſors in puniſhing the Other. He diſcovers nothing but by example; a moving kind

kinde of perſwaſion for imitation of goodneſſe; and averſion from whatſoever is evill.

Quintus Curtius, his Sceane is ſingle: his whole Diſcourſe conſiſts mainly upon the actions of one Prince; yet many pleaſant and remarkable paſſages ſhall you finde in the Princely progreſſe of his life. A brave ſpirit diſplayed in every action. One, who knew how to vanquiſh; and how to moderate his felicity. One, who if he were not what he was, could chuſe with all his heart to be a poor Philoſopher. One, who amidſt his Military affaires, and managements of State, would deagne to talke with learning: purpoſely to improve himſelfe as well in Arts as Armes. Never Prince by his power could doe more, and by a ſweet attemprature of his command, revengeleſſe.

Megabizes eſteemed *Alexander* as a Prince whilſt he ſtood in his Schoole and ſaid nothing, but when hee began to talke of things which he knew not: he ſaid unto him, that "Even his little "Children would laugh him to ſcorne. This affront could that great Commander beare with a Princely patience: and labour by his owne endeavour, and the inſtruction of an incomparable Maſter, to redeeme his ignorance.

Though a Cynick teach him mortality in an homely manner: and encounter him with mouldred Sculls in his triumph to his Countrey; he will ſcarcely reprove him for it, but uſefully apply it, and benefit more by it, than by all thoſe Nations he had conquered.

Yet

Yet muſt his *Errours* be touched, that the ſincerity of an Hiſtorian may become approved. His eaſie inclining to *Lais* lay no ſmall taint nor tincture on his honour; that the counſell of a Wanton ſhould get the Conqueſt of ſuch a Conquerour.

Velleius Paterculus, as he was no leſſe elegant in his Style, than ſinnowey and ſubſtantial in that Subject whereof he treated; may be juſtly bemoaned, that the injury of time ſhould leave ſuch maimes in his Workes: as no mention at all is made of all thoſe glorious actions and memorable exploits of the *Romans*, from the very prime foundation of the City, till the ruine of the *Macedonian* Kingdome, by *Æmilius*, during the ſpace of five hundred yeares or more. So as, what now remaines extant of him, ſhewes him not ſo full, as to the *halfe Body*: nor that neither in his owne native luſtre and beauty. In a word, unhappy was he in his mutilation, more unhappy in his Tranſlation.

For *Ioſephus*, that ſincere relater of the Jewiſh Warres, I ſhall take occaſion preſently to ſpeake of him; give mee leave onely to render him that commendation which *Conſtantine* the Emperour was ſometimes pleaſed to beſtow on ſo noble and faithfull an Hiſtorian: "As his life "deſerved perpetuall praiſe, ſo his death eternall "honour.

Touching *Appianus Alexandrinus* in his Diſcourſe of the *Romane* affaires, in my judgement he ſhewes both wit and ſtrength in his Lines.

Not a pleasant passage but merits approvement from his Pen. None more serious, when he desires to be weighty; none more delightfull, when the Subject admits a freedome to be witty.

For our Greeke Ethnick Historians (for of those Ecclesiasticall Writers, we shall speake of them in their due place;) none comparable to *Plutarch* for Historicall Morality; nor to *Thucidides*, for State and Majesty; nor to *Herodotus*, for Method and Perspecuity; nor to *Herodian*, for a quick and active Discovery; nor to *Zenophon*, for a rich Philosophicall Delivery. Where every Sentence workes strongly on the Sence, and begets some new Principle of Experience.

But these, as I observed, wrote only upon the Actions of those times, with the quality of the Persons interessed in those Actions: being both for matter of Discipline and service estranged from us, and consequently reteine lesse affinity with us. Yet of singular use (if discretion be had for severing the chaffe from the pure graine) both for instruction and exemplary direction to these times.

I will retire my selfe to such as may yeeld the Reader no little profit by consideration had to the judgments of God; modestly mixing Morall instructions with a sweet variety of Divine discourse: a matter which may seeme directly opposite to my first intention, but is not so; for these Histories which I meane to produce, are so grounded upon infallible truths, as in that respect

ſpect they may ſeeme to merit a morally-Divine Title. *Ioſephus* works I eſpecially entertaine into my Family, as beſt deſcribers of the judgements of God, expreſſers to the life, of an obdurate and ſtiffe-necked generation. Here to behold the incomparable beauty of that glorious Temple (the type of the Cœleſtiall Temple) founded by that wiſeſt of men, and that peace of Princes, *Salomon*, defaced, and that City which was once called, *The City of the great King*, demoliſhed, and layd levell with the ground. Then to direct our Eye to the wonderfull judgments of God in raiſing civill diſcords, and mutinies amongſt the *Iewes* themſelves, the greateſt meanes of their ſubverſion, the maine predictions of their ruine and utter deſtruction, before theſe warres came upon them; yet their impieties not a whit leſſened, their arme of ſinne ſhortned, nor remorſe of conſcience excited: no refuge to the Religious, but defence to the wicked in every place of the City miniſtred. Then Survey the pollution of that Sacred Temple, where Altars were once Erected, Peace-offering ſacrificed, and the Prayers of the holy Conſecrated to God; there nought but effuſion of bloud, ſlaughters among themſelves (an Occurrent remarkeable) committing no leſſe Maſſacres upon themſelves in the ceaſing of Warre, then the *Romans* did in the heat of warre: being wholly expoſed to Tyrannicall Factions in the City; to expoſe themſelves to *Roman* ſervitude more eaſily. Theſe examples of Gods Juſtice, are worthy our Obſerva-

Ioſephus commended.

Circumſtances in the *Iewiſh* Warre give an excellēt beauty to the Diſcourſe.

Veſpatian is ſaid to have his Tents there firſt pitched where our Saviour was taken.

In Montem Olivarum Caſtra metans, &c.

The judgment of God in that Hiſtory moſt remarkable.

tion, to admoniſh us of our peculiar duties, careful how we offend, ſerious in the adminiſtration of Juſtice: For how ſhould we think he will ſpare the wilde Vine, that hath thus dealt with his owne naturall Vine? When he hath dealt thus with the Greene Tree, what will he do with the Dry Tree? That Vine was planted with his owne Hand, watered with the dew of his eſpecialleſt favours from Heaven, dreſſed and pruned, yet behold the wilde Boare hath rooted it up: *Et ſeges eſt ubi Troia fuit.*

The truth of that Hiſtory is ſo undoubted, as beſides his owne concordance in relating, there is none that ever made queſtion of the Truth and Verity thereof, compoſing what he wrote, not by report of Others, who ſpeake (for moſt part) as they are affected, but by the approbation of his owne Eyes, the beſt outward directreſſes to inward knowledge.

Divine Hiſtories.

To this Noble Hiſtorian (for he was Nobly Diſcended) I may adde thoſe excellent *Greeke* Writers, worthy and memorable: as *Nicephorus, Evagoras, Socrates, &c.* For their Divine Examples plentifull, the ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians amidſt the tyrannies of the cruelleſt Emperours wonderfull: the diverſe ſorts of torments by thoſe Tyrants invented, pittifull, and the diſmall and terrible end of thoſe Blood-ſuckers, feareful. Here thou ſhalt ſee an *Herod* tranſported above himſelfe, with the acclamation of his people: *Not the voyce of Man, but of God:* And preſently behold his pompe converted into

Inſolency puniſhed.

loath-

loathſomneſſe, his preceedent joy to a ſubſequent penſiveneſſe, and the excellency of admiration to a ſuddaine amazednesſe; he that ſeemed before a God, and no Man, is now by God made the miſerableſt of Man, forlorne and dejected: nay, if we would obſerve the whole current of their Hiſtories, we ſhall ſee in them that God ever uſed to recompence the Offendour with a puniſhment of the like nature: *Nicephorus* reports, how *Herodias* daughter having begged the head of *Iohn Baptiſt*, chanced on a time to go over a main river, frozen over with Ice, where the Ice preſently parting received her, and meeting againe cut off her head, a true and evident Teſtimony of Gods judgment.

An excellent Example.

Puniſhment alluding to the condition of the fact.

The like of that blaſphemous wretch *Iulian*, a foule-mouth'd detractor from the glory of God: who on a time mocked a Chriſtian for talking reverently of the bowels of CHRIST'S compaſſions: But what end came of this miſerable Atheiſt? His bowels fell out of his belly, being thruſt through with a Javeling, confeſſing the power of God with a regreate, ſaying: *Vicisti O Galilee! &c.* yet vouchſafing to beſtow no better name on him, then *Galilean*, a fearefull end of a moſt prophane Blaſphemer.

Blaſphemy puniſhed.

The like of *Diocleſian* that cruell Emperour (and a great perſecutor of the Chriſtians) who, whilſt he raigned ſeemed little or nothing to feare the Divine power of Heaven; yet the Hiſtory records, that Feare was the greateſt occaſion of his death; no, that he died by a voluntary feare,

very jealous of the Aire, lest it should pierce his Braine.

The like exemplary punishments inflicted on other Delinquents.

The like of *Maximinus*, who at that time raged in the East, as *Maxentius* did in the West. Of whose Cruelties to returne a full Catalogue, would require an ampler Discourse than I have reserved for him. Hee, I say, who accumulated upon himselfe these Titles: "Emperour *Cæsar*, "*Maximinus*, puissant, magnificent, Chiefe "Lord, Lord of *Thebais*, Lord of *Sarmatia*, "five times Conquerour of *Persia*, Lord of "*Germany*, Lord of *Ægypt*, twice Conqueror "of the *Carpians*, sixe times Conqueror of the "*Armenians*, Lord of the *Medes*, Lord of the "*Adiabeni*, Twenty times Tribune, Nine-"teene times generall Captaine, Eight times "Consul, Father of the Countrey, Procon-"sul, &c.

Vid. *Eusеb. lib. 8. cap. 17, 18.*

This matchlesse Tyrant, thus swolne up with Titles, after such time as he had plenteously rioted in the blood of the Saints, and sleighted the power of Heaven: feasted in nothing more than the bloody Bankets of dislaughter'd Christians. "Wherefore a Plague from above lighted on "him, first taking roote in his flesh, and after-"wards proceeding even unto his Soule. For "there arose suddenly in the secret parts of his "body (to chastise him for his licentious impu-"rity) an Imposthume or running Sore, after-"wards in the lower parts of his privities a bot-"chy corrupt Bile, with a Fistula; whence issu-"ed out corrupt matter, eating up the inward bowels,

"bowells, and an unspeakable multitude of Lice "swarming out, and breathing a deadly stinch, "when as the Corpulency of the whole body "through abundance of meate before the disease "came, was turned into superfluous grosnesse; "and then being growne to matter, yeelded an "intollerable and horrible Spectacle to the be-"holders. Wherefore of the Physitians, some "not able to digest that wonderfull noysome "stinch, were slaine: some other (when there "remained no hope of Recovery, by reason of "the swelling throughout the whole body) be-"ing not able to helpe at all with their Physicke, "were cruelly executed themselves.

The Corruption of his body seconds the Tyrants Cruelty: dispatching such with his stinch, who he had reserved for that Death in his healthfull estate.

But let us (if you please) take a Summary or briefe Survey (the benefit will answer the pur-suit) how those Emperours which were Ethnicks and Paynims, maintainers of Idolatry and Paga-nisme, and how of the contrary, such as cleaved unto the Christian Faith, and held it there royall Prerogative to be Defenders of it, ended their Reigne.

Was not *Caius Julius Cæsar* the first Emperor, slaine by Conspiracy? Did not certaine Souldi-ers with naked Swords dispatch *Caius* the Ne-phew of *Tiberius*? Was not *Nero* murdered by one of his familiar and deare Friends? Had not *Galba* the like end, *Otho* and *Vitellius* who all three reigned onely fourteene Moneths? What shall I speake of *Titus*, whom *Domitianus* poi-soned, although he was his owne Brother? What say you of *Commodus*, did not *Narcissus* dispatch

him

him out of the way? What shall I speake of *Pertinax*, and what of *Iulian*, enjoyed not both they one kind of Death? What, did not *Antonius* the Sonne of *Severus* murther his Brother *Geta*? And did not *Martialis* requite him with the like? What shall I say of *Macrinus*? did not the Souldiers use him like a Captive about *Byzantium*, and cruelly put him to death? Was not *Aurelius Antonius* of *Emessa* murthred together with his Mother? Was not *Alexander* immediately after him, together with his Mother likewise put to death? What shall I say of *Maximinus* (whom we formerly mentioned) whom his owne Army dispatched? Or not *Gordianus*, who through the Treason of *Philip* was in like sort by his owne Souldiers put to death? Tell me, I pray thee thy selfe O *Zosimus*, what happened unto *Philip*, and after unto *Decius*, were they not slaine by the Enemy? Take *Gallus* and *Volusianus* with them; were they not murthered by their owne Armies? What of *Æmilianus*, had not he the like miserable end? What *Valerianus*, was not he taken by the *Persians* in Battell, and led about of them in Triumph? What *Galienus*? was he not slaine through Treason, and *Carinus* beheaded when *Diocletian* came to be Emperor; whom *Diocletian* cut off lest they should Reigne with him? After whom *Herculius Maximianus*, his sonne *Maxentius*, and *Licinius* dyed with contumely and shame enough.

But since the time most noble Emperor *Constantine* began to reigne, since hee consecrated

unto

unto God the City he had built, and called it after his owne name, looke about I pray you, and ſpeake indifferently, was there any one Emperour in that City (*Julian*, whoſe Apoſtacy expoſed him to an imperious Tyranny, onely excepted) that was murthered, either by his owne Subject, or by the Enemy: or any other Tyrant vanquiſhed the Emperour. *Baſiliſcus* excepted: who, although he thruſt *Zeno* beſide the Imperial Scepter, he was overcome of him againe, and loſt his head.

Theſe Examples extracted from infallible grounds, may ſeeme the judicious underſtanding of the Graveſt, and fitteſt for Private Families, where order is beſt attained by Examples: We uſe moſt to be moved, when we ſee the end of ſuch a Man, to caution us; who having led his life ſecurely, concludes the period of his dayes as miſerably: And ſome have I knowne even of the diſcreeteſt and moſt vertuous parents, who, to deterre their children from Drunkenneſſe, uſed (like as the *Epirotes* did with their children) to hang the picture of a Hog wallowing in a filthy puddle, with this Inſcription on it:

Vid. Lud. vives. de educ. virgin. 1. lib.

Nunc Ebrius aſtet,
Mequé Suem ſumpſiſſe ſuam formam ——

Drunkard, if thou would ſt ſee this forme of thine,
Come here and ſee't depictur'd in a Swine.

An uſuall meanes of reclaiming drunkards from their beaſtiall filthineſſe.

Abite Sympoſia, diſtrahitis negotia. ib.

Iumentum bibit quantum ſufficit; Homo bibet quantum ſufficet. ib.

The Laſcivious and ſenſuall worldling, decyphered with this Character: *Myrrha* hanging in

Every vice briefly decyphered.

a chaine of gold about her father *Cyneras* bed with this *Impreſſe*.

Hinc Amor ut tenuit, ſuſpendet.

The miſerable wretch that makes his gold his God, beſt expreſſed by *Menedemus*, with his Spade, delving and digging for life, with this Motto:

Sic mihi divitias Famulis, pati.

Non tu ſed tui ſeruiunt tuis. Dum tu tuis dominaris, tui dominantur tuis.

Trueſt decyphering of all ſices, proceeding from the exemplary events of Delinquents, committing what they like, and at laſt feeling what they like not: The beſt government in private, proceeds from Hiſtories, and the ſerious reading thereof: the vertuous Matron ſquaring her courſe, by that modeſteſt of *Romane* Dames *Lucretia*, making her (*colum* her *thorum*) her Diſtaffe, her beſt companion in her bed, when her husband was abſent: no vicious mind can deprave her, ſhe is fighting at home with her owne paſſions, whilſt *Colatine* her husband fights in the field againſt his Countries enemy: But you ſhall ſee *Lentulus* and *Brans*, their wives rioting, and revelling in their husbands abſence.

Oeconomicall Hiſtories, teaching Private Families how to be diſpoſed.

☞ Neceſſary inſtructions for all Private Eſtates.

You ſhall finde ſundry Inſtructions highly conducing to all Private Eſtates, in theſe *Surveys of Hiſtories*. Directions for thoſe are married; how to demeane themſelves in their ſeverall ranks or conditions. How the *Romane* Dames, after they had taken them to Husbands, were to bid adue to publique concourſe: by breaking of the Axle-tree of their Waggons at their Bride-groomes doore: and putting off their ſhooes, (implying,

(implying, that they were thenceforth to keepe within doores, and never to goe abroad.) What Instructions likewise were given them, to prepare them before they tooke themselves to a married state; which (to omit others lesse pertinent) were digested in this sort:

Love all, but reserve your peculiar affection to One. 1.

Hate whatsoever deserves your pious neglect: and entertaine that Subject, as one worthy your truest tender, who would rather dye than asperse the least blemish on your honour. 2.

Hold him dearer than your life, who knows the essence of Love: who scornes to make a Semblance of that in Act or Tongue, which his intimatest thoughts confirme not for a truth. 3.

Piety should be your Diary: Sanctity your Deity. 4.

Earth your contempt: *Elysium* your content. Let *this* be your Object, *that* your Subject: *That* your Inne, *this* your Mansion. 5.

You are yet but one selfe, one Soule: if ever you live to unite it; let it be linked to such a Love, as may essentially delight it: ever cheere it, never cloy it. 6.

The misery of an enforced Marriage, what Tragick effects it h'as wrought; the World can witnesse: where joyning of hands comming from disjoyned hearts, hath made many a Nuptiall, an heavy Funerall. 7.

Portion is a Worldings Object: Beauty the amorous Fooles Darling. Whereas, Vertue, be 8.

ſhe never ſo poore, nor to the outward eye never ſo meane; reteines in her what may truely enrich thoſe that ſhall have her: and expreſſe that beauty in Age, which farre ſurpaſſeth all others in their Prime.

9. You, whoſe happineſſe it hath ever beene to gaine repute; crowne thoſe rayes of your Morning, with a glorious Evening. And to ripen thoſe native ſeeds of goodneſſe in you, make choice of ſuch an one for your Mate, whoſe knowledge may improve you; that *Art* and *Nature* may make you ſuch an abſolute Creature, as whoſoever eyes you, may admire you: and draw one line from your accompliſhment, whereby they may imitate you.

10. Though you be left, while others are choſen, hold not this your Contempt but Honour. Heavens have reſerv'd you for the laſt Diſh, to ſeaſon the palate of a ſelect Gueſt. Thoſe Jewells are not in value leaſt, that are vended laſt.

11. Your affection hath beene long in planting: thoſe are the beſt Foundations.

12. That madding Fancy is a Frency, where Deliberation makes no entry.

13. You have obſerved others choice; yet you preferred your Maiden-ſtate before any change. A Marriage-day could not ſo fire your affection; as to beget in you one ſtraying thought of altering your condition. What a fixt Reſolve was this in Youth? you were no envious Corrivall in others Rites; but were pleaſed to ſee others fed, with what you never taſted; harmleſly joying to heare others

others joy in that you never enjoyed.

But being so well read in Man, yet never knowne to Man, make use of your Lecture, and in a lawfull embrace give way to Nature. 14.

Let your Posterity make you a Mother; your breeding beget a new life in those who shall be got of you: that like *tender Osiers* twisted about you, they may become melodious Instruments to those Superiour Powers that made you. To whose auspicious protection in the choice of your affection, that you may never stand in need of *Viri-plata's* Mediation, we recommend you. 15.

The like Directions you shall finde for Virgins, and such as embraced a single life: with sundry Morall Motives to exhort Widdows to Continence. Instructions likewise for Oeconomicall Discipline: Experimentall grounds or Observations for Husbandry, all which for Brevity sake I passe over, referring you to such who have copiously inlarged themselves in Subjects of this nature. *Val. Max. Strabo. Microb. Lud. viv. &c.*

If our Historians, now a daies, would employ their Lampes and Oyle in the delivery of a profitable History, such as might rather tend to the cherishing of the unripened blossomes of vertue, then the nipping of them: How happy members were they? Yea, that I may use *Salusts* words, though they retired themselves from publick affaires, yet; *Majus commodum ex eo otio, quàm ex aliorum negotijs Reipub. venturum*: Yet such have bin the depraved humours of former times, that the best Observors and Relators, have purchased Historians most profitable to the Commonweale.

little, ſave Envy, for their Labours: no, the very chiefeſt Hiſtorians have oppoſed themſelves one againſt another.

Enmity amongſt Hiſtorians themſelves.

Titus Livius was ſo violent againſt poore *Saluſt* (as *Seneca* obſerveth) as he objected that certaine things, Tranſcribed by *Saluſt* out of *Thucidides*, though elegantly applyed, yet by him depraved and corrupted; which *Aurelius Fuſcus* alſo, noteth to be done, as it were, of ſet purpoſe by *Saluſt*, to derogate from the excellency of *Thucidides* writings: A meere detraction to ſuch a worthy Author: But what workes meriting Emulation, have not ever had Envy for their attendants? I conceive the reaſon to proceed from that of *Heſiod*, who inferreth in Profeſſions, none to be more apt to envy one another, then ſuch as be of one Trade: *Figulus figulum odit*: True, for where eyther ſingularity is required, or hope of gaine, there Envy is ever ſhooting her impoiſoned Arrowes: And (for the moſt part) Envy raigneth there moſt, where our Labours deſerve moſt: The low Muſhrome is ſeldome touched by the violence of any Tempeſt, but the peering Cedar is ever expoſed to all vehemencies.

Heſiod. 1. lib.

For the particular uſe of Hiſtories, and their fruit, I have gathered theſe Obſervances, extracted from a judicious Writer: Expert he was in all Hiſtoriall Relations, as his apt ſimilitudes more fully demonſtrate: what they are I have here ſet downe, and as contractedly (as I could imagine) for the benefit of every underſtanding Reader.

Trog. Pomp.

If

If Hiſtory comprehend in it any certaine documents for the inſtruction of Mans life, I ſuppoſe it expedient for all men; as well to ſelect and make uſe of it, as to ruſh violently into ſuch moſt plentifull and fruitfull fields of Hiſtory, where all exemplary grounds are in ample ſort propounded. For what can be more pleaſant, or more profitable, then in the Theatre of Mans life; ſo, to be made wary and wiſe by other mens harmes (and that without harme) as to ſit in ſafety, and yet to be inſtructed in all parts without jeopardy: chuſing out Examples of all kind, which thou maiſt apply unto thy owne peculiar uſe, upon all occaſions? And whereas Hiſtory, is converſant oftentimes in the ſecreteſt counſels, importing the weightieſt affaires of the greateſt Perſons: we that are men do with greateſt appetite covet them, as likewiſe to be intereſſed in their events, becauſe it is impoſſible (through the ſhortneſſe of mans life) otherwiſe to abridge the ſucceſſions of times, by the limit of our forgetfull memory: or to ſee the proſperous Fortunes, Succeſſes, and Ends of Empires, or manifeſtly to conceive the Cauſes of evils, eyther private or publicke; or in every hard and difficult aſſay, to have a preſident before our eyes, of ſuch things as were tryed before us, or which were in hazard before they were attempted by us: and that I may ſpeake all in one word; to judge of things preſent, by things paſt, which is the property of a wiſe man, and diſcreetly to foreſee of what is to come by all ſucceeding events.

A compendious diſcourſe of the generall profit of Hiſtory.

But

But it becommeth us, to come ſo much the better furniſhed, by how much our Hiſtory is with all fruits better fraught and repleniſhed: And whereas there is the very ſame difficulty in judging rightly, as well of our owne, as anothers life; there is none that can duly (how piercing-ey'd ſoever) judge of anothers life, that hath not meaſured his owne: Of both ſides it is to be implyed, that not onely a maine difficulty is here placed, but alſo before we be to this Hiſtory addreſſed, it is required neceſſarily, that we be not only endued with a certaine Civill Wiſdome and Moderation, but alſo to have our lives grounded on a ſetled intention, unleſſe we will be miſerably, and that perpetually, deluded with the vaine illuſions of this life.

An apt ſimilitude.

For even as it fares in a moſt ſumptuous and royall Banket, repleniſhed with all ſorts of dainties, one thing ſeemes delightfull to one which is diſtaſtfull to another; few things are liked of all, every one being beſt pleaſed with his owne, though all diſhes be alike to the Glutton: and as every one's appetite is, ſo is he affected; yet there is a meane (which Nature hath ordained) and a certaine kind of nouriſhment, which in it ſelfe is meerely ſimple and uncorrupted, and beſt agreeing with our bodies: From which, whoſoever departeth ſo, as he crammeth himſelfe above the bounds or determination of Nature, will find more inconveniency then profit in it. So in this diverſity of Mans life, though there be a thouſand formes, and a thouſand purpoſe,

poſes, and as every one is reſolved in mind and judgment, ſo he judgeth of his owne and anothers life: yet there is one only path of vertue, which whoſoever keepeth and obſerveth wiſely, he only maketh uſe of his life really. Others, as in a doubtfull ſupper, when they invite themſelves to all pleaſures, can neyther find out in themſelues or others what might deſerve imitation, or whereto they make might recourſe: But if there be any thing given to man by Nature, which is in his power to uſe well or ill, it behoveth him to uſe great circumſpection in the uſe thereof: But what is he I pray thee, that wil uſe more exact conſideration in all his words and workes (by the direct line of vertue) then in the uſe of ſuch meats as are ſet before him? And who thinkes not himſelfe ſufficiently inſtructed herein? In which how wonderfully are men deceived? Suppoſing that Diſcourſe to be Hiſtory, which teacheth the Reader, miniſtring to him matter of Learning (yet ſo) as a Banket miniſtreth uſe and appetite to every one as he is affected.

This is the reaſon that we ſee ſome ſo delighted with the ſweetneſſe of Reading, as obeying their owne pleaſure, they looſe the ineſtimable fruits thereof. Such have no other ſcope in all Hiſtories, then with which our Generous Muſitians, uſe to paſſe time away, upon their Inſtruments: employed in reading only, to ſpend their weary houres, which be preſently encountred with more wearieſomneſſe: For *there is no pleaſure in it, which hath no reference to Vertue.* The glittering object

Nulla voluptas eſt, quæ non reſpicit virtutẽ.

of glory and ambition exciteth others, and that which shewes a flexibility of mind in all other things, vainely transports them to every brave & eminent image, forgetful how glorious and remarkable examples are produced by Writers, not only to follow vertue, and contemne honour offered us; but if a Competitor were admitted us to countermaund the authority of our honour, to endure him with patience; yet, though none but fooles will purpose to aspire to such merited excellence, without the like meriting vertue: we see many men, by the very reading of excellent things, to taste in themselves a certain kind of excellency, arrogating much to themselves, and resembling those Tragedians, who imitate the State of such persons they represented, after they have put off their Habits.

There be also (but of these there be but a few) whom new, and unaccustomed things do delight (men of vulgar apprehension) who hearing the State of Emperours, for the most part, more esteeme the Purple then the Man, the Picture then the Work: So effectually doth History exercise, and imprint in the Mind of the Reader.

Qui stupet in titulis & imaginibus.

Now it is the scope, and draught of all Histories to excite mans sloath, and to arme him against all dangers; and whereas the force of examples (then which nothing can be imagined more powerfull to perswade) tend especially to that end; it commeth to passe that by the security of men (who thinke other mens harmes little or nothing to concerne them) such things (as

in

in themſelves are memorable and worthy obſervation) be read and heard with a deafe and careleſſe Eare.

To be briefe, there be ſome alſo (which one would hardly thinke) offend in a more ſevere, and Critick kind of reading: as if things ſhould not be Writ as they were done, but as they ought to have beene done. Wherefore, partly by this curioſity, partly by that ſecurity (the very ſurfeit of confuſed and raſh reading) it commeth to paſſe (as in a body peſtred with corrupt humors) that a certaine κακοζία, or ill diſpoſition of judgment and opinion; which ought eſpecially to be ſound and ſincere in the courſe of our life, and a δυσκρασία, or bad temperature, converting all food into ill humours, uſeth to be contracted in us: and as meat availeth ſuch as be diſtempered, nothing, ſo no profit at all by theſe meanes is miniſtred to our reading.

I ſuppoſe thou ſeeſt how the very ſame reaſon is in reading Hiſtory, and diſpoſing the courſe of thy life: but this is certainly the greateſt difficulty (to wit) the perverſeneſſe of our judgment, which is the ſpeciall'ſt cauſe, that we are not moved with examples as we ought, but what way as our minds are inclined and affected moſt. And this difficulty is no leſſe then the other: forasmuch as Writers do deſcribe things done, as they do not only carry favour, but follow their owne appetites (like ſome Builders) ever interpoſing their own peculiar judgments, (of their owne accord) praiſing ſome things, (though not praiſe-worthy;)

Artificium benevolentiæ colligendæ habentes.

worthy;) and whatsoever liketh them, they imagine it worthy approbation: which (surely) if they did simply, it were easie to consent or dissent unto them. But even as Cookes (for the most part) do more respect their Maisters Palate then his Profit: Even so an Historian (I could wish the most did not so) applies himselfe to the appetite of the Reader. We are oft-times therefore deluded by these two meanes, our owne Judgement, and the prejudice of the Author, not laying things open and naked, as they were done.

Gulam sapiùs quàm commodũ Heri spectant.

An Historian is the best interpreter of Acts atchieved; whose judgment, if it chance to be corrupt, it commeth to passe, as when Wine (of it selfe neate and generous) taketh either some waft of the Caske, or is corrupted by some other distast, which either proceeds from an imposture, or folly great & intollerable. We may see in one only example, the judgment of the Writer; The prophane Historian ascribeth the events of serious and weighty affaires, to the counceil and industry of men; al-be-it he hath sufficiently tried, how fowly those men were deceived in the events. Hence it is that men be drawne to great folly; that they, whose knowledge was scarce sufficient for the consideration of things subjected before their eies; and whose force and strength not much exceeded little Wormes, should by one small successe arrogate the government of the whole world unto them. But a good Historian teacheth thus: *Things* (saith he) *are purposed by Man,*

Man, but diſpoſed, and moderated by God; whereby he riddeth the ſcrupulous Reader both of folly and ſuperſtition (a miſchiefe no leſſe then the other;) and in all other proprieties, good Hiſtorians (whoſe ſtudies are only conſecrated to holineſſe) ought not to be ignorant of the Agent and Inſtrument wherein they differ, and what be their ſeverall Effects: the one moving, and the other moved. But eſpecially I admoniſh thee to this end; that whereas I obſerve many Authors of that kind, who for their exceeding force of innumerable examples, deſerve to be read; I could wiſh that the Novice-reader diſcuſſe with himſelfe as circumſpectly and ſeriouſly as he can, by propoſing to himſelfe both the fruits which might redound, and the dangers which might occurre him in his reading: for to one that runneth over all Hiſtories curſorily, or who raſhly and unadviſedly ſpends his time without any exact obſervance of private or publicke duties, it commeth to paſſe as to Country Clownes, who in ſacking of a neighbour City, take ſpoile of ſome *Apothecaries* ſhop well furniſhed with all receipts; where, provoked with the ſweetneſſe of ſome junkets or ſpices, being the firſt that came to their hands, and imagining the reſt to be of the ſame ſort, they ſwallow, ſup up, devoure, and gormandize all before them; whereby preſently ſome are taken with a ſtrange diſeaſe, others with a Phrenſie, moſt are bereft of life; none but ſtrangely diſtempered, which occaſions laughter through all the Army: *For as Mans life, (ſo Hiſtory*

the Image of Mans life) hath her commodities and discommodities: for the Government of Mans life consisteth onely in the use of his life.

In these Collections, as in a most cleare Mirror, may our young Gallant see into his errours: he shall be of necessity forced to distaste himselfe, till he have relinquished his mid-night revels, surceased from his licentious meetings, and reduced his disconsorting Passions unto a calme and retired harbour; here the publicke Magistrate shall be able to dispose of himselfe, and Office deputed unto him; seeing matters worthy imitation, and Precepts worthy the Gravest and Ripest Consideration: one to instruct, others to Correct, and all to make perfect this whole module of Man.

A review of those former Collections, applying them to our present occasions.

Now, to take a review of those former Collections, and apply them to our present occasions; Histories you have heard illustrated by divers proper Similitudes, to represent unto us the benefit thereof, both in respect of their delight, being modestly and discreetly seasoned; as likewise, the occasional profit we may make therof; in the passages of this life.

First then, he compares *History* to a *Feast* or *Banket*, where Dishes of all sorts are provided and orderly disposed; implying, what Method is to be observed in the forme or digestion of an *History*. Nither, indeed, could any Viands bee more orderly disposed, nor decently dished, than hath beene observed by our Historiographers in the comely disposition of their Writings:

tings: So well hath the Divine providence ordered, that whatſoever properly conduced either to the knowledge or practiſe of this life, might to Poſterity bee ſucceſſively recommended.

For firſt, to deſcend to the Order and Continuance of times agreeable to the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, we have at this day compendiouſly delivered unto us by the Workes of ſuch famous Hiſtoriographers as have written the ſaid Hiſtory unto the poſterity following. For *Euſebius Pamphilus* hath written from the birth of Chriſt unto the reigne of *Conſtantinus Magnus*: *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Zozomen* have continued the times from *Conſtantine*, unto *Theodoſius Iunior*, of which Emperours doings *Evagrius* hath ſomewhat diſcourſed. As for the Divine and Prophane Hiſtories from the beginning of the World unto this day, they are orderly continued by painfull Writers. And firſt of all, *Moſes* beganne to Write (as is declared of them which compiled theſe things together) of the things that were done from the Creation of the World, even as he had truely learned of God in Mount *Sina*. Againe, other followed him, ſhewed the ready way to our Religion, and committed to Writing the Acts done ſince his time. Moreover (to deſcend as in a building from Story to Story) *Ioſephus* wrote a very large Story, full of every kinde of good matter.

What fabulous things ſoever have beene reported

ported to have beene done either by the *Grecians* or *Barbarians* of old time, who either were at Civill Warres within themſelves, or waged battell with forraine enemies, or if any other thing can be remembred ſince the firſt mould of man was caſt, all I ſay, beſides ſundry other Writers, is laid downe by *Characes*, *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*. As for the Roman Hiſtory, comprizing in manner the Acts of the whole World, or if any other thing fell out by reaſon of their Civill diſcord or of quarrels riſen betweene them and forraine Nations, it is exquiſitely handled by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, who begunne his Story from the time of the People called *Aborigenes*, and continued it to the reigne of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*. From thence unto the overthrow of *Carthage*, *Polybius Megapolitanus* hath excellently diſcourſed: all which Treatiſes though occaſioned at divers and ſundry times, *Appianus* with grave judgement hath contrived into Order, and compacted together; adding thereunto of his owne, ſuch things as were worthy of memory after their dayes unto his time. *Diodorus Siculus* wrote unto the time of *Iulius Cæſar*, *Dion Caſſius* likewiſe continued his Story unto the reigne of *Antonius* of *Emeſa*. The like matter and order hath *Herodian* in manner followed, ending with the death of *Maximus*. *Nicoſtratus* alſo, a Rhetorician of *Trapeſus*, beganne with the reigne of *Philip* the Succeſſour of *Gordianus*, and wrote unto *Odenatus* of *Palmyra*, and the ignominious expedition

tion of *Valerianus* againſt the *Perſians*. Of the ſame thing intreated *Dexippus* at large, beginning with the reigne of the *Macedonians*, and ending with the Empire of *Claudius*, the Succeſſor of *Galienus*. The ſaid Author laid downe the Warres of the *Carpians*, and of other Barbarians in *Hellada*, *Thracia* and *Ionia*. *Euſebius* continued his Story from *Octavianus* the Emrours reigne, unto the time of *Traian*, *Marcus*, and the death of *Carus*. *Arianus* and *Aſinius Quadratus*, wrote ſomewhat alſo of thoſe times. The times following, reaching unto the reigne of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* the Emperors, *Zoſimus* hath proſecuted : and of the things which happened ſince their times, *Priſcus Rhetor* with others hath diſcourſed. All which Hiſtories *Euſtathius* of *Epiphania* hath briefly runne over, but very excellently, and devided the whole into two Volumes : The firſt containeth the Acts from the beginning of the World unto the deſtruction of *Troy* and the Pallace of *Priamus* : the ſecond continueth the Story from that time unto the twelfth yeare of *Anaſtaſius* the Emperours reigne. There beganne *Procopius Rhetor*, and ended with the dayes of *Iuſtinian*. What happened ſince unto theſe our dayes (ſaith *Evagrius Scolaſticus*, a ſerious Diſcourſer and Diſcuſſer of Antiquities) although *Agathius Rhetor*, and *John*, both my fellow Citizen and Kinſman, have orderly written of, unto the time when *Choſroes* the younger both fled unto the *Romans*, and alſo was reſtored to his Kingdome by *Mauricius*,

(who went not therein faintly to worke, but couragiously as it became an Emperour) and brought *Chosroes* into his Kingdome with great Treasure and Armed Souldiers) yet have they not as yet published their Histories.

Vid. Evegr. lib. 5. cap. 24.

Whence you may collect how orderly Histories have beene disposed, how successively continued, and with what coherence suited, as hath formerly beene observed. The chiefest of them, to reteine them better in memory (and right usefull is such Historicall retention) have beene ingeniously closed in this metricall Dimension.

Baronius, Iovius, Polydorus,
Dodonaus, Dioderus,
Dorotheus & Eusebius,
Ptolomaus & Polybius.
Annexing to these:
Calius, Lelius, & Valerius,
Cineas, Plinius, & Pererius.

Now, (to tye our selves to that propriety of that Similitude used in our former Collections;) as in a *Banket* there be severall Dainties orderly dished, so be there appetites as diversly affected. What one distasteth, another relisheth; what one relisheth, another distasteth. So it fareth with our Readers of History. Some are for Solid meates: Serious Discourses, fit onely for strong stomacks. Others are for meates of easie and light digestion. What may relish with the Palat, though it affords lesse nourishment,

delights

delights them beſt. Here a Comfit, there a Succot; onely Kix-ſhowes are for theſe lighter Gueſts.

And many ſhall we encounter withall of this ſort: who, ſhould you queſtion them, what they have read in ſuch an Hiſtory, or what uſefull Obſervance fit upon occaſion, to be reduced to practiſe, they have gathered; it were to bee doubted, if they returne not the ſame anſwer, which that youthfull Reader of *Homers* Workes rendred (as one newly come out of an *Euphuus* golden ſlumber) to one queſtioning him in the like manner. "I find not a more pleaſing Piece "than *Helen*, nor diſpleaſing than *Therſites*. Many ſuch there are, who take a perfecter view of the *Picture*, than of the *Subſtance*. Poore mouldred earth, which ſometimes (if Hiſtories enlarge not themſelves too farre) reteined a graceſull preſence; and wrought ſuch ſtrong impreſſions in ſtrange eyes, as they ingaged both their owne and Countries liberty, to become poſſeſſors of ſuch a beauty, are attractiveſt Objects of their eyes, the retentiveſt Subjects for their memories. Theſe come for company, amongſt the more knowing and deſerving Gueſts, to partake of this *Banket*; but they preferre ſuch ſweete Meates, which corrupt rather than nouriſh, before thoſe which may not onely cloſe the Appetite, but ſupply for nouriſhment.

Others, more ſeriouſly affected, hold to that which may moſt nouriſh. Theſe be our ju-

dicous Readers, who collect what may profit them in private Diſcourſe, or affaires Domeſtick or Publick.

To ſee an Eminent Perſonage beare himſelfe to his ranke, we commend him; we ſay, hee does not degenerate from thoſe he came from: his diſpoſition proves his deſcent; his Education, the worthineſſe of thoſe that bred him. Obſerve this in your peruſall of *Hiſtory*; when you finde a perſon nobly accompliſh'd; One, who values honour before any worldly tender: you collect, he was not obſcurely bred; his demerits pleade for him. No Herald can find for him a better Coate, than his owne perſonall worth. Now, reflect, *Gentlemen*, upon your ſelves. Doe you ſhew your ſelves abroad? Are you invited to publicke Feaſts or other re-greets of friends? Tell me then, is not the Veſſell to be knowne by the ſound? Our vaporous Gallant, whoſe intimate acquaintance is his Tinder-boxe and a Pipe, takes in *ſnuffe* a ſerious Diſcourſe. His entire Study is reduced into a ſmall Volume; cloſing his Impreſſe with, *Pulvis & umbra ſumus*.

And theſe Emblemes of his Mortality though he carry ſtill about him, he as eaſily forgets what they ſignifie, as if they had no relation to Mortality. Poor ſeered things! Can you ſee theſe, and not pitty them? Pieces made up in the ſhape of men, but ſo farre eſtranged from ſo Princely ſtyle, as, their feature excepted, they repreſent nothing leſſe. Diſcourſe, without that weake *mannall* inſtrument, their Pipe, they cannot:

and

and when they utter what ſmoak gives them power to deliver: they reteine ſtill that Embleme in their Dialect, which they evaporated from their Pipe, *Smoake.* The Judicious, I am ſure, bluſh at this, and by a *reflex* of *conceipt* (to uſe the Philoſophers words) are more aſhamed of them, than they of themſelves. For theſe conceive what a diſhonour it were to them to ſhew themſelves ſo childiſhly in a publicke Society.

It is true, all diſpoſitions are not alike affected; Seeing, as *Plato* ſaith, running Wits are delighted with Poëtry, as *Ariſtotle* writeth, effeminate perſons are raviſhed with Muſick, and as *Socrates* telleth us, Hiſtories agree beſt with ſtayed heads. This induced *Alfonſus* to have alwaies in his boſome the Commentaries of *Caſar*: being alſo ſo much delighted with the Hiſtory of *Titus Livius*, that on a time he commanded certaine Muſitians (though very exact in their Art) to depart, ſaying: "He heard a "more pleaſant harmony out of *Livius.*

Hiſtory to a diſcreet Eare the delightfulſt harmony.

When you come then to this Muſicall Feaſt; where you ſhall heare pleaſing Aires mixed with doleful *Lachryma's*; bring diſcretion along with you to rectifie your diſtempered appetites. Leave light notes to perſons of light note. Stronger meates are prepared for your well-concocting Stomacks: ſuch as may nouriſh you, and beget thoſe manly abilities, that may fit and accommodate you for the knowing'ſt preſence.

It was the ſaying of a learned Stateſ-man in

this Kingdome (whoſe Workes expreſſe him a ſerious reader of *Men* as well as *Bookes*) that he would have a gentleman rather ſuperficially ſeene in all Learnings, than exact in One. And his reaſon is, that one who reteines the Elements of all Knowledges, though they be but in a weak meaſure, yet hee can deliver himſelfe by way of Diſcourſe in what Subject ſoever ſhall be miniſtred: whereas Hee, who hath confin'd himſelfe to an exact ſight of one Knowledge, and no more, being out of that Element, wherein hee is ſolely exquiſite, he muſt veile to other mens Diſcourſe, and keepe conſort with Silence.

Now, to inable you for all Companies, no ſtudy may better accommodate, nay accompliſh you, than the knowledge of *Hiſtory*. So as *Caliſthenes* ſaid to *Alexander*, that he had rather carouſe old Graines with *Diogenes* in his Diſh, than new Grapes with *Alexander* in his Cup; "For of all the Gods (quoth he) I love not *Æſculapius*: preferring conference with a Philoſopher, before the ſociety of a Scepter: and imbracing an abſtemious courſe of moderation, before Feſtivall and Epicureall meetings. Even ſo ſhould I in my choiſe of acquaintance, deſire more to enjoy his company; who hath beene uſefully vers'd on the Theatre of Hiſtory; than any other, whoſe affected dreſſe, or airy complement gives onely a ſound to the Eare, but leaves no impreſſion in the Conceipt.

An exact Hiſtorian, a ſelect Companion.

In our election then of Company (as I have many times obſerved) let it be our care ever to make

make choiſe of ſuch, "of whom wee may bee "confident either to better them, or be bettered "by them. And to chuſe him for our Maſter "(to uſe *Seneca's* counſell) whom wee may more "admire when we ſee him, than when we heare "him.

Eum eligas in Socium, de quo tibi ſpes eſt aut meliorem reddendi, vel meliorem ab eo redeundi.

Eum eligas magiſtrum, quem magis admireris cum videas, quàm cum audias. Seneca.

For the habit of the mind is beſt diſcovered by the Action, Station and Diſpoſition of the body. So as, he deſerves not the ſtyle of a Maſter, who ſeconds not that title in his outward geſture.

Thus you have heard this Similitude explained, in this reſemblance of an *Hiſtory* to a *Feaſt*: whereto if you come with taſtes or appetites diſtempered; thoſe various diſhes, be they never ſo delicious, can afford you ſmall delight: begetting rather in you a loathing than a longing. So, in this incomparable Feaſt of Hiſtory, where Diſhes ſtored with all variety of diſcourſe are ſerved up, if you come with diſtempered judgements, not diſtinguiſhing what is wholeſome from what is noyſome, that which might have redounded to your infinite profit, by inverſion of the right uſe, returnes to your detriment. Great preparation than is to be had in the ſolemnizing of ſo Princely a Banket.

Secondly, hee compares it to a *Field*. Where we may preambulate and ſolace our ſelves after more ſerious ſtudies. Neither ſhall you finde more variety of flowers in the Field; than you may of excellent inſtructions, powerfull examples, with other perſwaſive Motives in our Hiſtories. You ſhall finde Princes by taking their

Facilitas in acceſſu, benignitas in aſpectu, affabilitas in affatu. Optimi ſunt ſoci, qui ſeriò faceti. Quid audiſti, quo magis profuiſti? In quo melior diſceſſiſti, quam cum ſociis periiſti?

their levell from theſe directions, entertaining a facility of acceſſe, a benignity in Countenance, an affability in diſcourſe. Others, though their Education had highly enabled them, their aſſiduate conference with learned Philoſophers improved them: yet this their improvement extended but onely to knowledge: They were contemplatively Proficients, but practically Deficients. The Wolfe would not change his heart, though he had chang'd his haire.

Againe, as in a *Field*, you ſhall encounter with many kindes of fruites, which, howſoever they appeare delightfull to the eye, are diſreliſhing to the taſte. So ſhall you in thoſe ſpacious flouriſhing borders of *Hiſtory*; obſerve ſome Eminent Perſons, whoſe faire Semblances promiſe nothing more than the practiſe of every Vertue: Their Countenance cheerefull, their Diſcourſe delightfull, their Service to their Countrey ſeemingly faithfull; yet ſhall you finde them true *Tiberians*, glorying in nothing ſo much as cunningly and covertly cloathing their purpoſes with faire pretences, going inviſible, and deluding their profeſſed'ſt friends expectations with a ſeeming good. Others, like low-growing Plants, or earth-kiſſing Violets, though to the Eye of the World, they ſeeme contemptible; yet try them, and you ſhall finde them ſweet and comfortable Conſorts; though ſleightly obſerved, deſervingly approved,

You ſhall find how thoſe men, who, as *Coſmo* ſaith, carry their heart in their mouth, are more

to

to bee pittied than feared. But contrarywiſe, thoſe who carry their mouth in their heart, more to be feared than pittied. You ſhall heare *Scipio* deſcribed by *Cicero* to bee the moſt cunning Searcher of Mens Minds, and *Sylla* by *Saluſt*. Thus may you ſtore your ſelves with flowers and fruits of all ſorts in this *Poly-carpian Field* of *Hiſtory*. And feele ſuch freſh wholeſeme aire to cheere you, as no diſtemper (unleſſe your owne diſpoſitions feede it) can poſſibly ſurprize you.

Thirdly, He compares ſome of our *Hiſtorians* to *Builders*; interpoſing their owne particular judgements, and imping their owne conceipts, by which they many times divert the Scope of their Hiſtory. Teaching the Generall of whom they write, what he ſhould doe: neglecting in the meane time his owne Office, of recording what was done. And this errour falls many times upon a preſuming Reader, as well as the originall Author. For many of our Criticks, who hold *Minerva's* Anvill to bee in their Braine, cannot read a Line without a Cenſure: and theſe for moſt part delight in nothing more than catching and carping at an errour. This confirmes *Saluſts* Poſition: "To repre-"hend others Actions and Speeches each mans "mind is ſtrongly affected.

Ad reprehendenda aliena facta atque dicta ardet omnis animus. Saluſt.

But if you meane to *build* wiſely upon theſe *Stories*, you muſt leave behinde you all prejudicate conceipts. Read Actions as they were done; imitate whatſoever you finde commendably

done: Eschew whatsoever you finde ignominiously done. Examples are usefull for you in both kindes: These to detorre; those to allure.

Fourthly, he compares these glozing-sugred *Historians* to *Cookes*; who (for the most part) use to preferre their Masters Palat before his profit. Such as these delude their Guests with guilded Plates, and indented Pastes. But guilded meates will never allay hunger. Profit and pleasure mixt together make the best musicke. The smell of Meat can no more feed the belly; than the sound of money fill the Purse. "There be some "wholesome things indeed (saith that sinnowy "*Seneca*) which without either touch or taste, "profit much with their smell. But by these, the *Morall* meant no materiall Flowers: Those internall graces or beauties of the mind, which had received sweetnesse from Philosophicall instructions, were those sweete fragrant Odours he meant by. But to presse this Comparison a little farther: Our *Historians* should not be such *Cookes*, as onely to intend a pleasing of the Sense. There is more in History, than delighting a youthfull appetite. He then that desires to have his Workes live to posterity; or in after Ages to receive his Memory; must disesteeme these pleasing humours of complying either with Time, or with any One, high in favour with Time. It was the Poëts resolution:

Sen. de Tranq. anim.

As in my choyse of meates, so in my Booke,
I'd rather please my Guests, than please my Cooke.

---*Cœnæ sunt fercula nostræ, Mallem Convivis quàm placuisse Cocis.*

He Writes the best, who humours least. Nor can he expresse himselfe better, than in composing his Style to the state of that Subject whereof he Writes: Aiming more at publick profit, than any mans private respect or favour: for Partiality, of all others, layes the greatest aspersion upon an Historicall Labour.

Fiftly, Hee compares the judgement of an *Historian*, when it becomes corrupted, to *Wine*; (which of it selfe neat and generous) taketh either some waft or unsavoury taste from the Caske, or is corrupted by some other accident. Mixtures of Histories may bee not improperly resembled to our mixtures of Wines. They make them lose their *flavour* and *colour*. Unlesse they be so discreetly mixed, that the strength of the History be not weakned; nor those principall passages whereof he takes occasion to treate, disordered or omitted. Wine muddy or troubled we cannot endure; it must be fined and cleared from the Lees. And so must History. Purged and refined it should be from all Lees; or incredible Lies. From all impertinences, useless digressions, artlesse independencies. Otherwise it will taste *flat*, and beget a distaste to any discerning judgement.

Lastly, He compares unadvised Readers of History to *Countrey Clownes*, who in the spoyle of a City, breake into some Apothecaries shoppe,

well furniſhed with all receipts: but not diſtinguiſhing what is Soveraigne from what is Poyſon; offering to their Senſe for for good whatſoever ſeemes pleaſing: They fall into Phrenſies, Plurifies, and all Diſtempers. Obſerve this *Gentlemen*, and make uſe of it. The *Deare*, if hee be wounded, can flye to *Ditany*, to cure him; The *Beare* when he feeles himſelfe ſicke, ſeekes for *Emmets*, and eates them, and theſe recover him. The *Bee*, if he be diſtemper'd, hyes him to *Balme mint*, and that cheeres him.

Ambroſ. in Exam.

Is it ſo, that theſe irrationall Creatures know how to cure their griefes; and will you neglect what may cheere your minds? You may finde in *Hiſtory*, as in a *Confectionary*, ſoveraigne Receipts, choice Electuaries to cure all maladies. Whatſoever is defective in you, may be heere ſupplyed; and whatſoever is in ſome ſmall meaſure perfected, may be more fully accompliſhed.

Nothing, whether it conduce to Diſcourſe or Action, Warre or Peace, Arts or Armes, but may by Hiſtoricall Helpes bee highly advanced.

The Philoſophers Axiome is: *Omne quod non ens eſt, malum eſt.* And worſe then no being (have they) who meaſure out their lives without a due proportion drawne from others, and applied to themſelves. Inſtruction is the light of Being, the directreſſe of Living, and the beſt Schoole-miſtreſſe that diſciplines us dying: States publicke are managed by her, Offices private adminiſtred by

Inſtruction the light of underſtanding.

by her, and the wiſeſt men have deſired to poſſeſſe her. No Beauty more permanent, Jemme more eminent, or Treaſure more Excellent; it beautifies it ſelfe; and no *Phidias* could ever portray any picture ſo well as it portrayes it ſelfe. And what inſtruction better then that which comes from Hiſtory, where the true Image of our life is delineated, Vertue in her beſt colours expreſſed, and Vice (without either ſhadow or pretence) layd open and naked? The Prodigall reads, and ſees himſelfe repreſented in another Perſon; he ſees the miſerable end of others, which (unleſſe he will fall with open eyes) muſt needs caution himſelfe: he ſees haire-brain'd courſes, leave both Patrimony and reputation behind them: *Penelopees* Woers, ever woing, never winning. The miſerable wretch, that pincheth himſelfe to enrich his unthankfull Poſterity, may ſee the fruit of gathering Perdition to himſelfe, and oft-times occaſion of ruine and ſpeedy deſolation to his ſurfeiting Heire. Here the brave Souldier ſees his owne fame; Acts duly and fully expreſſed: not a famous Exploit (deſerving memory) muſt be ſilenced, but the very name of the Agent, (to excite others the more) muſt be Recorded. Here the effeminate Milke-ſop, that fights beſt under his Ladies flagge, firſt man that will come to a laſcivious Banket, but laſt that will come to a pitched field: Hee (I ſay) muſt ſhew himſelfe, though ſmally to his credit: yea, *Alcybiades* (though otherwiſe well deſerving of his Country) muſt be ſet out in his ignominious death; aſwell as his

Hiſtories, mirrors for all States.

Hiſtories muſt not partialize.

memorable life; giving up the Ghost in the lappe of his Concubine *Tymandra*.

He defined *History* to life, though confined to a short line, who call'd it: "A Theatre of noble "Actions, begetting in the Spectators a lauda- "ble Envy, a glorious Emulation."

History the best Herald for deblazoning vertue or vice.

Nor shall we find in the whole passage of our life, so true a *Herald* for deblazoning Vertue or Vice, as it is. We say, *Letters cannot blush*: and though many unbeseeming Act be by her presen- ted, with the quality of the Person by whom it was acted: yet like a faithfull undaunted Record, it recommends with a composed and censorious countenance, how it was done and by whom, without glozing with Person or Time. Such Registers cannot perish: whereas others, who are wonne by Greatnesse, or corrupted with base Lucre, (of all others the baleſt) or out of private discontent (an Errour too commonly taking a- mongst many Historians) asperse dishonour on any Person or State (of all others the hatefullest) cannot promise any perpetuity, because they faile in their foundation, being not grounded on Principles of Verity. Oh what a graceful beauty bestowes our Historian on Vertue, when expressed in any Eminent Person! How it wooes Followers, and wins them to be Imitators of such goodnesse! The Members cannot be distem- per'd, when the Head is healthfull. When the Prince turnes Philosopher, the whole Court be- comes an *Academy*.

History then, as it may be properly stiled, The

Noble-

Noble-mans Lecture: So their Actions, Lectures to the inferiour. Nothing commendable in the great, which brings not with it an Additament, being cloathed with greatneſſe. For great Perſons, be their lifes remarkable eyther for ſome eminent Vertues, or egregious Vices, they become preſidents to their ſhadowes.

Three eſpeciall commendable qualities have bin thought ever fitting Conſorts to accompany Perſons of quality; but theſe have bin ever obſerved moſt eſtranged from their ſociety. 1. Patience in ſuffering Adverſity: 2. Moderation in bearing Proſperity: 3. Humility in attempring Soveraignty.

Three eſpeciall qualities ſuiting well with the condition of any Eminent Perſon.

That wiſe *Chylo*, when his brother took it diſtaſtfully, that he himſelfe ſhould not be made *Ephorus*, when *Chylo* was; made him this anſwere to allay his Choller: "Content your ſelfe "Brother, I know how to ſuffer injuries, ſo do "not you. Implying, that none was fit for place of Authority, but could patiently endure affronts, or ſuffer an injury. This it was which ſo truly recorded *Camillus* name in the Annals of Honour: whom neither his Dictatorſhip could too much raiſe, nor his exile from his Country, too much deject.

This, thoſe praiſe-worthy *Romanes* bravely ſhewed in their conſtant and unamated reſolution after their diſaſter at *Cannæ* (as hath beene obſerved) where at ſuch time as hearing of nothing but utter ruine and deſolation ringing in every place, they did nothing unworthy themſelves: deſer-

deſerving no leſſe honour in bearing their loſſe, then their enemies in obtaining the prize. But for one preſident of patient-ſuffering in this kind; we ſhall meet with many oppoſite examples, inclining to a contrary bent. Yea ſuch, who had bin ſufficiently ſchooled in Philoſophy, and had read what weake truſt was to be repoſed in proſperity. Amongſt theſe, you ſhall find ſome overcome with griefe upon innovation of government, to lay violent hands upon themſelves. Poniards and poyſons their familiar receipts to cure all diſcontents. Theſe could not endure to ſee the face of a State altered, their Conſull-authority diſ-valued; their antient Lawes diſ-annulled; but they muſt witneſſe their griefe with a fatall ſtabbe; though ſuch a deſperate act conferre no benefit to the State.

No leſſe rare have our Hiſtorians held *Moderation* in bearing *Proſperity*, with perſons of Command and Soveraignty.

Alexander in the height of his ſucceſſe, was ſo farre tranſported with the ſuppoſitious title of a Deity, as he began to forget Mortality: yet one wound received can make him retract that Errour; and confeſſe himſelfe a mortal man, though the worlds Commander. What would he have ſayd, if he had ſeene himſelfe remaine thirty dayes without buriall; but *Diogenes* (poore contemptible *Diogenes*) ſolemnized with a glorious Buriall.

Ælian. lib. 12. Laërt. in vit. Diog.

How farre *Pyrrhus*, the victorious *Cæſar*, experienſt *Hannibal*, imperious, but afterwards calamitous,

mitous *Antiochus*, Majestick *Mithridates*, Martiall *Miltiades* fell short of this *Moderation*, their owne actions (deblazoned to life by our Historicall Heralds) will sufficiently demonstrate.

These wanted *Simonides* to sing unto them, as he did sometimes to *Pausanias*; or as that Page every morning did to *Philip* of *Macedon*: "*Philip remember that thou art a Man.* Or the *Spartans* speech to the *Samnites*: "We have forgot our beginning, we have not understood our ending, because we have not remembred our beginning.

Respice post te; hominem memento te. Tertul. *Apol.c.33.* Μέμνησο ἄνθρωπος ὤν. *Prima summa obliti, postrema non intelleximus, quia prima non meminimus.*

Whereas in others we shall finde an absolute *Moderation* in the height of their *Prosperity*; and such a Princely commaund of themselves, as their very minds declared them worthy of nothing lesse then Soveraignty.

This appeared in the *Moderation* of noble *African*, mild *Marcellus*, strict *Severus*; who with an easie contempt slighted the honour they enjoyed, and could Philosophically digest the losse of fortunes, if they perished: whence we cloze, Honour can be no attractive Lure, to the composed spirit of a true Heroick Lover.

Lastly, with what a Princely beauty Divine *Humility* shewes herselfe in the bosome of Nobility, may appeare in that modest reply of that victorious *Godfrey*, to such, as after his glorious Conquest of *Hierusalem*, to the honour of Christendome, offer'd to set a Crowne of gold upon his head, but he refused it, saying, "*God forbid that the Servants head should be with Gold crowned,*

where his Masters head was with Thornes pierced.

Now, the rarity of this Vertue (or rather the repository of all vertues) is recommended to us by Venerable *Bede* in this memorable ſtory: "*Aidan* a religious Biſhoppe, weeping for King "*Oſwine*, and demaunded by the Kings Chap-"laine why he wept? I know, ſayd he, that the "King ſhall not live long; for never before this "time have I ſeene an humble King. Which hap-"ned accordingly, for he was cruelly murdred by *Oſwin*. Howſoever, if in any of theſe, ſuch Perſonages as the Hiſtorian makes mention of, fal ſhort, through corruption of diſcipline, he ſhould not be ſparing in his medeſt diſcovery, ſo it import the ſubject of his Hiſtory: where it is expected all things ſhould be delivered impartially.

Abſolute Hiſtories will not admit of the leaſt concealement; but repreſenting every Act, Perſon, and Event, uſe to illuſtrate what is worth inſiſting upon, omitting (or at leaſt curſorily paſſing over) more fruitleſſe Subjects: and how delightfull may it ſeeme to every judicious man, when in reading of ancient Records, he conferres the Stratagems of Warre then uſed, with the preſent obſervance of this Time: ſees (and ſeeing) notes the ſundry diſpoſitions of men, how noble in themſelves, and how generally eſteemed invincible, by a ſudden converſion laid low, beneath the ſtirrop of Fortune, and made a ſpectacle of Fate! Then to obſerve States, better governed in their decline, than in their height; and farre more able in power, when in the eye of the world

World leaſt powerfull. The *Romans*, when they had attained the very height of Felicity, that all Governments were their Tributaries, then they began to ſtoop moſt under their burden; and preſſed with their owne grandeure, ſeemed to imitate the *Phœnix*, who weary of her ſelfe, deſired to have her aſhes renewed, but her ſelfe extinguiſhed. What ambitious Tyrants proud of their owne ſtrength, and ſecure of Divine power, are layd flat in the height of their expectancies: ſo as where they planted the foundation of their hopes, there they were moſt defeated; to expreſſe the providence, & all-working Majeſty of God, who diſpoſeth of all governments, pulling down the tyrannicall Empires, and ſetting wiſe and diſcreet Princes in their place! And no motive (of prophane writings) more effectuall then Hiſtories, to draw us to a conſideration of our ſelves, and the Majeſty of God, whoſe excellency beautifies this Univerſe, teaching us to admire, and (in our admiration) to tremble and feare, having recourſe to the incomprehenſible judgments, and ſecret counſels of the Almighty.

Rome in her decay, compared to the *Phœnix*.

A Chriſtian conſideration of the power and Majeſty of God.

Every *private Family* may draine hence unſpeakable *profit*, obſerving the divers caſualties, & mutabilities ſubject to every one that is intereſſed eſpecially in matters of ſtate; preferring their own private and free Life, before popular admiration, ſo intangled with continuall incertainties. Here may the poore Husbandman, at his leaſure, receive tidings from Forraigne

Profit derived from Hiſtories to *private Families*.

raigne Courts: here he may learne what difference there is betwixt the Coulter and the Scepter, the Share and the Shield. Here may the Marchants wife pitty her poore husband, toſſed with ſo many adverſe winds, invironed with ſo ſundry dangers, and expoſed to ſo miſerable adventures; ſhe cannot chuſe but play true at home, that hath a husband ſo faithfull abroad, who endangers himſelfe to make her ſecure: why ſhould any come into his hazard, that like a *Tenis-ball* caſts himſelfe into every hazard? Here the wife of the valiant Souldier may ſee what difficulties her diſtreſſed husband is expoſed unto, heat, cold, watching, hunger, thirſt, all inconveniences, to propagate the glory of his Country, & purchaſe himſelfe a name eternally memorable. His poor family hath reaſon to powre out their prayers for his deliverance, and thankfully aſcribe all glory to the power of Heaven for his ſafe returne. To be briefe, what particular eſtate not engaged to Relations of this nature? The Mariner ſeeth his dangers; and ſeeing them, obſerveth the influence of the Stars, and Planets, the *Orion* and the *Pleiades*; yet in all theſe obſervances, he gathers there is a Power above, whom the Sea and winds obey; to him therefore, as (the experteſt Pilote) he flies for ſuccour, finding no harbor more ſecure, no repoſe more ſafe. The Souldier ſees into the Diſcipline of Armes; & (by Hiſtory) apprehends how a final handfull of Men have oft-times conquered an Army, to the judgment of Man invincible: he ſees into it, and admires the wonderfull power of God,

Merces domeſtica in conjugio, longinqua in navigio ſita eſt.

The deſcription of a Mariners danger.

The Souldiers diſcipline by Hiſtories.

God, who worketh oft-times directly against all meanes, to teach us thus much: that his power is not limited to meanes; but can effect (without the least instruments) what in his sacred Synode he hath ordained. Here the Marchant sees into the riches of the whole Earth; how it pleaseth *God* to subject all things to the service of Man: to the end Man might only reserve himselfe for the service of *God*: he observes the exceeding favours of Heaven shewne upon Earth, and he collects hence, that those joyes, whose comforts and exceeding treasures which he keepeth for the Elect in Heaven, must needs be great above all comparison. *Si tanta solatia in die lachrymarum, quanta conferet in die nuptiarum?* These considerations must of necessity move him to play the good Marchant, who finding one Jem of price, will sell all and buy it.

Aug. Soliloq. cap: xxi.

A Motive to thankfulnesse, derived from a Commemoration of mans irreparable misery, without Gods ineffable mercy.

Yet see the misery of Man! That he who hath received all things from that insecate Fountaine of Divine Bounty, should preferre the fruits of Misery, before the promises of Gods Mercy!

Foure severall Philosophers ascribed distinct Deities to the foure Elements.

Those erring Philosophers, when they conceived those sweet-relishing comforts they enjoyed by the Ministry of the foure Elements, they could not (poore deluded Soules!) ascribe lesse than the Title of a Deity to every distinct Element. *Zeno* makes *Fire*; *Xenophanes Earth*; *Anaximenes Ayre*; *Hippon Water*, to be their Gods. Yet, when all these Elements joyne in one voyce and vote, crying, *We are not your Gods, seeke him above us: He is your God, He is our*

"*God who made both you and us*; We become lesse thankfull to our true God, than they to their false Gods.

A Motive, then, to Thankfulnesse, might be worthily hence derived from a Commemoration of Mans irreparable Misery, without Gods ineffable Mercy.

Glorious is the Image hee h'as imprinted in him; various and beauteous be those graces hee h'as bestowed on him; a more precious prize is reserved for him: and are not all these of power to wooe and winne him? Againe, should he reflect upon himselfe, and consider how by sinfull declining, he is dayly descending to a miserable condition, from which, without Gods great mercy there is no redemption: he would turne, no doubt all *Niobe:* and with pious teares, holy vowes, religious purposes, vertuous actions, labour his freedome from captivity, to re-possesse him of his primitave liberty. Histories are plenteous in examples, relating the miseries of Eminent States; and how soone those, who to the eye of the World, appeared most happy; closed so cheerefull a Day with an Evening Summons of irreparable misery. And the greatest ground of their unhappinesse, tooke life generally from their owne selfe-confidence. It was the Saying of that Noble *Themistocles:* "*I had perished, had I not perished.*" And it is the generall condition of all Man-kinde: Men are never farther from happinesse, than when they seeme to be in most happinesse. For what is this

Theatre

Theatre of Tragick encounters. Where we act this calamitous Sceane of our life, but ever hung about with mourning? *Troïlus* was held more happy than *Priamus*, because hee dyed younger, and therefore his teares fewer than *Priamus*. *Mithridates* had beene more happy, if he had dyed sooner, before he saw his misery. *Darius*, while victorious, might have dyed gloriously, a few longer dayes eclypt his glory. Hee, who sometimes thirsted after Soveraignty, and failed in that which he most sought, when in his flight he drunke muddy and stinking water, said, "*That he never drunke a* "*sweeter draught.*"

Contraries by opposition receive best illustration. Let us eye the condition of those States which many yeares have preceeded us, and collect our owne happinesse by their disquiets. Sweet is Warre to them that have not tryde it. But such as rightly weigh it, with the inconveniences that accompany it, will render all thanks to that *Prince of Peace*, by whose blessing they enjoy it.

These, by dayly experience can distinguish of the Utilities betwixt *Peace* and *Warre*. They observe, how in *Peace*, Sonnes burie their Fathers: but in *Warre*, Fathers burie their Sonnes: how in *Peace*, the sick are healed: but in *Warre*, the whole are wounded. Where it is doubtfull, whether the *Agent* or *Patient* be more miserable. It is an excellent Rule, which is commended to us, in the use of *Warre*: "Neither to provoke taking up "of Armes, nor to lay them downe upon just "occasion

Bellum nec timendum, nec provocandum. Plin. *Panegyr. Trajano.*

occasion offered. But how happy we; when in this our *Inclosed Garden*, our owne *Olive* may feed us, our owne *Vine* cheere us, our owne *Figge-tree* shadow us! This, other Neighbour-States are farre from injoying; yea, such, as so nearely bound us, that,

Exigua prohibentur aqua

A small cut divides us, but a great difference of condition betwixt us. This, in the remembrance of others unhappines, should induce us to thankfulnes.

God hath in store Judgement as well as Mercy; of the first Cuppe others, and those our Neighbours, have deepely tasted, of the latter, our Cuppes have beene plentifully sweetned.

God hath powred downe the Viols of his Wrath upon other Nations, in sending out those three fearefull Messengers, and in shooting those three fatall Arrowes, Famine, Sword and Pestilence; We onely who deserve least, have shared in the last, and have for a season mourned, yet are not wee converted: our griefe being for most part rather for decrease of our Trade, or Traffick, or the decay of our Worldly estate in some measure, than hearty sorrow for incurring Gods displeasure.

Tunc verâ requie tór afficitur, quando in Cœlestibus anicè figitur.

The onely usefull way for us in this Review of Gods Mercies to us, and his Judgements upon others, is to retreeve our thoughts from earth; to fixe our affections where we have stored our divinest Treasures. And as Heaven h'as shut her windowes of Judgements to us, and hath opened them upon others: And h'as opened the windowes

dowes of his Mercy to us, which hee ha's ſhut from others: let it be our eſpeciall care to ramme up our windowes, I meane our *outward Senſes*, that Death enter not in by them; and *Tarpeia*-like, betray our chiefeſt Cittadell unto them.

Intrà cancellos teuuere Senſus, Comprimant ſæuos ut amoris æſtus, integræ mentis repetendo quæſtus Limine pacis.

The Poët in the perſon of ſome Vertuous Ones, expreſſed neatly the Soveraigne effect of this receipt in theſe Words:

Within their Lodges they their eyes reſtrained,
That Lures of light love might be ſtill refrained,
Whence the rich prizes of pure minds they gained
With peace adorned.

Thus if our affections were erected, our actions directed, and our waies corrected, we ſhould ſoone (to uſe *Seneca's* words) "*Gather* our *Veſſels* in the *Haven* ſafely, and after a long perillous voyage, arrive with Glory.

Every private houſhold is a little Kingdome within it ſelfe, and needes inſtructions (though not ſo conſequently ſerious) as the greateſt Palace, and royalleſt Empire: order muſt be obſerved in the one, as well as in the other; a Principality in both, and a ſubjection to both. What fitter for the houſholder to traine his children, ſervants, and attendants in (next Diuine VVrit) than the reading of profitable Stories, ſuch as excite to Vertue, and ſtirre up their mindes to the undertaking of ſomething worthy a reſolved ſpirit? I know the baſe minded Groome hea-

All Arts may be reduced to noble attempts and condigne fortunes by their owne professions.

ring the prosperous successe of *Lucius Quintius*, who was chosen one of the *Patricij* from his Plow stilt, and afterwards by his valour and magnanimity, reserveth the name to this day, of *Triumphalis Agricola*: a poore Husband-man sitting in his Chaire of Triumph, will desire by all meanes to imitate so notable a president; scorning to rippe up the bosome of the earth, when he may purchase himselfe more fame by the deblazing his honour upon earth. The home-spunne Shepheard, hearing the renowned Acts of *Romulus*, fed and brought up among Shepheards: and of *Cirus*, who bare himselfe a Prince among Shepheards, will cast away Scrippe and Sheepe-crooke, and behave himselfe a worthy successour in their profession. The Gardiner hath an Emperour of his profession, to imitate, and an honest one too, as his name implyes, to wit, *Probus*. The Wood-man or Forrester, a *Pompilius*. The Diviner, a *Zoroastres*: and the Philosopher, an *Antonius*. But many have we, that we may better imitate than Princes: as their state was eminent, so were their natures depraved. We shall read that many of them were as good Law-breakers, as Law-makers; and the greatest Vices appeared least, (though most approved) in greatest men. They had ever vertuous pretences to shadow vice: sin became cloathed in Tissue. We shall see impunity of offences to be a great supportresse of them, presuming still on the Kings mercy, and squaring their course to his Discipline: for

Royal Errors.

Sub-

Subjects love to imitate their Prince, either in Vice or Vertue: but more are there inclined to the worſt than the beſt; making this concluſion, through long and inveterate cuſtome of ſinne; which *Medæa* in that cunning and quaint Diſcourſe ſeemed to compaſſe, with this ſubtile preparation, laying this grand-hold of proceeding: *Fructus eſt ſcelerum, nullum tibi ſcelus putare*: A poſition of *Machiavel*: VVherein every judicious Reader may gather the admirable and inſcrutable wiſedome of God, fruſtrating their devices, annihilating their purpoſes, never bringing their deſignes to effect: yea, which is more worthy our obſervation, making there the moſt fooles, where they thought themſelves to be moſt wiſe. For their policies either in governing, or eſtabliſhing Empires; How farre ſhort have their purpoſes ever come to effect: Examples I could produce many of this nature, as well Divine as Morall.

Machiavels Poſition.

It is a ſafe, becauſe a Divine Concluſion; No Eſtate ſecure without the protection of a Supreme Power. Take a Survey of all conditions, and you ſhall finde Frailty the Foundation they ſtand on. Cares and Feares, Shadows they cannot fly from. No Guard ſo ſtrong, as to ſecure from Feare a Princes ſtate: yea, he ſhall finde his very Kingdome to be his Priſon while he is in it, and to be anothers when he is removed from it. Yea, he ſhall finde nothing to be more profitable for a King, than ſometimes not to play the King.

Omne regnum ſuo principi carcer eſt, ſi exeat, alienum.

Yea, were there no Enemies to invade him; No diſloyall hearts to undermine him, yet would he encounter with jealous and ſuſpicious feares within himſelfe to ſurpriſe him. This Potion wrought ſtrongly with *Dionyſius*, that Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, who (as upon the like occaſion hath beene formerly obſerved) became ſo ſuſpicious, as hee would not truſt his Barber to ſhave him, cauſing his Daughters to ſupply the Office of Barbers. Poore Majeſty! What pleaſure could this Tyrant take in having a Kingdome; when his Crowne could not ſit more cloſe to his head, than thoſe individuall Cares to a Crowne clung neare to his heart? This cauſed *Seleuchus* ſo accuſtomably to ſay, "That if a Man knew with "what Cares a Diadem was clogged; how very "few houres he were from diſquiets freed; hee "would not take it up, though it lay in the ſtreet.

Yea, ſhould neither Enmity aſſaile him, nor infirmity invade him, nor cares ſeaze on him, nor feares ſurprize him; yet would he find within him, though he had no aſſailants without him, that would daily amate him, nightly awake him. And now, when he h'as ſumm'd up all his cares; and ſummon'd all his feares; he finds all his ſeeming glory, that mighty maſſe of Majeſty, confined to a very ſtraite period.

Though *Zerxes* march along with a populous Army, drinking dry whole Rivers as they goe. Though *Alexander* intend to reduce Mount *Athos* to the proportion of a Man; a ſmall Molehill in compariſon of a Mountaine will ſerve to cover

cover him. It is not in the power of a Monarchy to plead her prerogative againſt Mortality.

Let *Ægiſtus* ſhrowd himſelfe with ſhame under *Clitemniſtra's* ſhelter; Let *Achylles* expoſe himſelfe with glory to all danger; an inevitable fate attends on both: Though Fame ſolemnize the Funerall of the one; but Infamy the obits of the other.

Continent *Cornelia* aſwell as Senſuall *Scriboni*; vertuous *Lelia* aſwell as vicious *Semphronia*; modeſt *Flavia* aſwell as wanton *Fauſtina*; conſtant *Octavia* aſwell as incontinent *Meſſalina* muſt ſhare ſtakes equally with Fate: only they differ in the eſtimate of Fame: *Inæquales naſcimur, æquales morimur.* Unequall in Birth, equall in Death. An equality of condition exacts an equall neceſſity of our diſſolution. Neither be the Low wholy more ſecure then the High; which is no leſſe ſententiouſly than truely veriſide:

Winds upon Cedars with moſt fury blow,
Whoſe fall muſt ruine thoſe that grow below.

O how dearely have many of our ſhady Followers of Greatneſſe bought this Experiment! when their dependence upon ſuch as were addicted to Ambition, brought them along with their unhappy Maſters, to a ſpeedy ruine. No Eſtate then can be ſecured: ſo long as we are Pilgrims, we muſt be incloſed with perils. For as Simple men are catched by others; ſo are Politicians catcht commonly by themſelves.

For tell me, thou Leprous Timiſt, who infecteſt the Aire by which thou breatheſt, makeſt the Earth barraine whereon thou treadeſt, makeſt every creature thy enemy which thou enjoyeſt; what will it availe thee to be a profeſt *Neuter*, to make Religion a politick end, to be ever reſolving, and never reſolved; ever doubtfull, and never ſetled; to be a Toppe which alwayes runnes round; or a Wheele ever holding a circular Motion without progreſſion? To have thy Religion ebbing and flowing; thy Profeſſion like the Soule of *Hermotimus* in *Plutarch*, and of *Epemenides* in *Heſychius*, comming and going: little caring whether Religion ſinke or ſwimme, whether thy Profeſſion ſtand or fall; or like to *Metius Suffetius* in *Livie*, who would ſtrike or ſpeake for neither ſide, untill one ſide goe downe, and then joyne to that which is beſt for Commodity?

Plutarch. de Socratis Genio. Heſych. de vitâ Philoſophorum. Liv. Dec. 1. lib. 1

What will this availe thee, thou temporizing changeling! Thou canſt not ſhrowde thy ſelfe, nor actions from his eyes, who ſeeth all things, alwayes, at once. He, who h'as not God pleaſed, ſhal never eſcape his fury unappeaſed. There was never ſince the beginning of the world ſo cautious a Delinquent, that could find an Appeale from Gods judgment.

Let the Uſurous wretch ſcrape never ſo carefully; contract never ſo cautelouſly; hoord up never ſo plentuouſly; and gull the world never ſo ſubtilely: all this will not ſecure him; he h'as Serjeants within him to attach him; beſides his prodigall

prodigall child; whose forlorne hopes daily and nightly startle him.

Gnipho the Usurer (as *Lucian* faigneth) lyeth in Hell lamenting his miserable estate, that one *Rodochares* an incestuous prodigall did on earth consume his goods wastfully, which he with care and unjust meanes had scrap'd and rack'd together.

This Fiction begets a representave action: we shall find few scraping *Gnipho's*, but they ever leave behind them their scattring *Rodochares*. Be it every mans care so to regulate his providence: that his fortunes may appeare to be the Revenues of a good Conscience; and his Seed succeed in the possession of their inheritance. In the enjoyment of which happinesse, let none of us labour of such an *Atrophie*, as to want an healthful and thankfull *digestion* of Gods gracious benefits.

The Highest Prince then, be he never so strongly guarded; nor with forraigne Allyes powerfully friended; nor with Treasures, warres innews, enriched; nor with Ammunition furnished; cannot promise himselfe to be secure, without the protection and assistance of a Supreame power.

How safe thought *Cinus* himselfe established in his new Translated Monarchy? when behold his security ends as miserably, as his beginnings had a flourish of seeming happinesse: Unfortunate he was for to be deprived of his hoped-

for

for Greatnesse, by a Sexe so weakly effeminate: Soucing that Head (which was Head to a powerfull government) in a Tunnell of blood, with this bitter invection: *Satia te sanguine quem diu sitijsti, cujusque insatiabilis semper fuisti.*

Iust. 1. lib.

The like of his successor *Cambyses*, who hoping to plant himselfe in a royall Throne by blood, miserably ended his owne life by his owne blood. An excellent and notable example of a sacrilegious and blood-thirsty Prince, who sought to establish himselfe by indirect meanes, (to wit) by the murther of his owne Naturall Brother *Mergis*. I insist longer upon examples, because I have oft-times found that Sentence of *Demosthenes* to bee most true: Παύτες ἄθρωποιτοις ἑτέρων παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι μᾶλλον συλαβοῖς γίγνοσται.

Ipse enim gladio sponte suâ evaginato, in femore graviter vulneratus, occubuit. ib.

Examples best motives to piëty, confirmed by the Orator *Demosthenes.*

These examples being best motives unto Piety, and, indeed, more forcible, in that we have two occasions in exemplary Presidents of imitation; the one to caution us not to doe this or that, least we fall into the like punishment, being attended on by the like meanes: The other (like a sweet lenitive) inducing us by reasons drawne from profit, which wee conceive may redound a-any way by the like examples; which the Poët seemes to illustrate when he saith:

Exemplo alterius qui sapit, ille sapit.

The greatest benefit in private, I imagine to be drawne likewise, from the right and exact use

uſe of Hiſtory : which particular good I have ranked in the ſecond place, and that is this: *In private to behold the ſundry diſpoſitions of Princes and People:* Reaſons whereof cannot be given, but onely from the temperature of the Region wherein they live: Which reaſons drawne from conjecturall grounds, are oftentimes deceived in themſelves; as in diſpoſing or ordering of States to the ſquare of wiſedome.

This benefit I have gathered, and placed in the Rereward: Laſt Obſervances (I know) take greateſt Impreſſion, and none more needfull than this: when wee ſhall have commerce with any people, than to call to mind their diſpoſition, leſt wee incurre a greater miſchiefe through our ignorance. Strangely jealous are ſome Nations, they have *Actæons* Eyes, perchance his Eares: Wee muſt ſhew our ſelves modeſtly baſhfull toward ſuch; every laſcivious looke is as good as a Comment for ſuch men, taking our Eye to be the Directreſſe of our Heart: Others more prodigall of their Wives reputation, ſeeme reſpectleſſe of their ſhame, or the hoſtage of honour, ſo they may increaſe their Eſtate, and raiſe their Fortunes out of Honours ruines. Other people we know to be of a ſurly, proud, and intractable nature, living more by their owne will (making it their Law) than the ſquare of Reaſon. Others, ſeemingly humble, more dangerous farre than the other; under pretences religiouſly honeſt, maſking treacherous and diſloyall projects: Never leſſe your Friend, than when ſeeming

Noli obſcurare faciem, qualis es, talis appare. Baſilius.

ming moſt ſo: He hath a fleering looke, ſmooth face, ſleeke tongue; can obſerve times, and for private advantage (like a ſecond *Sinon*) unboſome himſelfe unto you: There be no windows in his heart, therefore beleeve him not; if by the tranſparancy of thy eye thou couldſt ſee into that rotten Sepulchre of his ſugred-poiſoned heart, thou wouldſt admire ſo faire and beautifull an out-ſide, to have ſo loathſome and hideous an in-ſide: Better charactred thou canſt not have him than by Hiſtory, it is the beſt Image of thy Life, and can beſt ſet out in their owne native colours ſuch deformed Images.

☞ No Image ſo neare to Life, as the Hiſtory of mans Life.

Nor is there any Modell drawne ſo neare to life, as Hiſtory is to the Image of Mans life. There is no affection ſo ſtrongly predominant in any perſon now living; which he may not find repreſented in lively colours, in the lifes and actions of others. And no doubt, but this affinity or reſemblance of manners begot in *Pithagoras* that opinion of his *Metempſychoſis* or tranſmigration of Soules: for ſo nearely found he the diſpoſition of One reſembling an Other; as he verily thought the Soule of that perſon endewed with ſuch affections, paſſed into an others body: for otherwiſe they could not poſſibly ſo nearely agree in the temper or quality of their humours.

And ſhould man take a due pervſall of himſelfe; what he is naturally moſt affected too; what paſſion moſt rageth or raigneth in him; what hopes and feares accompany him; upon what grounds thoſe receive life in him. Againe; what

what receipts he finds moſt Soveraigne to attemper thoſe Motions in him: no doubt, but he ſhall upon reading of *Hiſtory*, meete with ſome One or Other, ſo nearely reſembling him, and inwardly like him; as he cannot chuſe but hugge the Story for the Statue ſake. Seeing himſelfe ſo nearely moulded, as himſelfe cannot be more like himſelfe, then he finds his mentall part reſembled. So as, he might well avouch, upon the preſentment of an other ſo like himſelfe: *Vel meipſum neſcio, vel in alio meipſum Sentio:* I eyther know not my ſelfe, or in another I ſee my ſelfe.

Might we aſſume that freedome which *Plutarch* enjoyed, in a Paralell of preceeding with ſucceeding times; the perſons and actions preſent with thoſe that went before us; we ſhould returne as neare a reſemblance in ours, as ever he did in the Symbolizing of his Princes.

Themiſtocles found *Miltiades* ſpirit in himſelfe. Such like noble minded Perſons ſhould we finde in ours. Others, like *Palinurus*, or a love-ſicke *Paris*, more apt to encounter with love, then to ingage themſelves in any other Liſt. And neare reſemblances might we cull out aſwell for theſe as thoſe: both for Campe Honour and a Carpet Lover. Which might prove a ſingular motive to excite Valour, even in thoſe, whoſe remiſſer ſpirits ſtood before ſo rebaited, as they might take a perfect draught of their owne Phyſnomies by that white-liver'd Captaine, who looking himſelfe in a Glaſſe when he was angry, was affrighted

with his owne countenance. Whereas, contrariwiſe, true Heröick Spirits, who never tooke acquaintance of one unmanly feare, might find others ſo lively reſembling them, as if they lineally deſcended from them.

Such a Survey of Honour might rightly merit the Title of the *Noble-mans Lecture*: Laying downe ſuch deſerving grounds of Courtiers integrity, Martiall proweſſe and Chriſtian pollicy, as might attract unto them an eagre deſire of imitation.

Nor in this NURSERY OF GENTRY ſhould the quick-ſighted Reader find only diſcourſe for Noble Perſonages to regulate themſelves by; in the view of others actions and diſpoſitions, with the reſemblance they find in themſelves both of their actions and diſpoſitions: But even ſuch, who have beſtowed much precious time in a *Sedentary life*, ſhall obſerue others no leſſe affected that way, then themſelves. That neare reſemblance, no doubt, which Divine *Plato* gath'red from the report of *Phocions* diſpoſition, and his, (confirmed by intermiſſive Letters and other motives) drew him forth of *Aſia* into *Cilicia*, for no other cauſe but onely to ſee *Phocion*, ſo much endeared to him by the report of his vertues, and neare reſemblance in converſation.

In this reſpect, our *Hiſtory* may well deſerve the Style of the *Muſes Wardroabe*. Or by reaſon of the Continuation of her *Mixt Diſcourſe*, ſtored, for the Readers more delight, with all variety, be properly entitled, *The Scholler's*

lers Medley. But our care is not to inſiſt on *Style*, but profit of the *State*: making this our principall ayme, that as in favour and feature you reſemble others, you may by a Divine emulation, retaine likewiſe a reſemblance of the vertues of others.

Nor is it to be queſtioned, but as wee ſee faces in their favour ſo nearely reſembling one another (though they have no relation to one an other in blood) as they can hardly be diſcerned one from the other: So likewiſe, in the inward favour or feature of the Mind, there is ſuch an harmony or Divine Symmetry, as there can be no nearer reſemblance to the Eye, in thoſe parts or lineaments of the body.

How much then, *Gentlemen*, may *Hiſtory* ſeeme to deſerve your Love; when you may ſee in it as in a Mirror, the Image of your whole Life? This is no ſuch deceiving artificial Glaſſe, that by the remoteneſſe of your Object, makes little things ſeem great, and great little: for this renders a true proportion to the face of every action.

Hiſtory directs man in the progreſſe of his Life.

Beſides this, *Hiſtory* directs Man in the progreſſe of this Life. It never deblazons Honour in the field, but as a branch derived from the firſt houſe. Whatſoever declines or degenerates from her, muſt beare no Armes without a diſtinction; when Goodneſſe ſuffers a deficience, it muſt carry no Coat without a difference. And ſuch Corraſives bring many times vicious habits both to a feeling and a cure. No matter, though ill-affected mindes accompt ſuch Monitors at the

first for their Foes, they will hold them, when they have try'd them, for their trueſt friends.

Telephus, when hee could finde none amongſt his Friends to cure his wound, permitted his Enemy to doe it. And hee, who purpoſed to kill *Prometheus* the *Theſſalian*, opened his Impoſtume with his Sword. Corraſives are ever held more Soveraigne than Gordials for old Sores. Nay, in theſe *Treaſuries of Time*, you ſhall finde Directions from one State or Story to another, to prepare man both for his preſent and future condition.

Monſtrant Regibus aſtra viam. Claud. Parad.

Starres are directing Emblemes unto Kings,
Kings to their Peeres, Peeres to inferiour things.

Hiſtory prepares man in his paſſage from life.

Nor ſtayeth our Hiſtoricall Direction heere: for it prepares Man as well in his paſſage from life, as Pilgrimage of this life: ſhewing, what diverſity of infirmities accompany us; how they are the Suburbs of Death: and how every yeere, nay, every Moonth bringeth ſome one or new malady, as a Meſſenger of Mans mortality.

Omnis Annus ſecum nova parit Mortis nuntia. Omnem Menſem ſecum novum peperiſſe morbum ſentiemus. Aphor. Ælius Adrianus. *Animula, vagula, blandula, &c.*

He will tell you too, how bitter Death is unto ſuch, who never thinke of it before they grapple with it: and this our Hiſtorian points out to life in that ſole-affectionate or Soule-paſſionate Dialogue of that expiring Emperour, in his pittifully-perplexed farewell to his beſt-beloved, his deareſt Darling.

Thus may you finde in *Hiſtory*, the Image and Life of Man, his Image after he ſurceaſeth to be Man. Directions for his Life; Proviſions againſt

gainſt Death: effectuall Conſiderations for both.

Upon a review of the Premiſſes, we may ſafely draw up this Concluſion: Thy whole Life wrapt up in Experiments either at home or abroad, cannot teach thee ſo much, as a ſerious diſcourſe taking breath from one integrious Hiſtory, will teach thee in one yeere.

Hiſtoricall relations, occaſions of publick Experiments.

LUCIL.

Scriptis aſpiret meis, qui favet votis.

Laus ei ſoli tribuatur omnis,
Cujus afflatu Labor extat omnis,
Fructus ut vitæ referantur omnes
Orbis in oras.

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FINIS.

Errata's in the Survey.

PAge 8. *lin.* 1. *for* Scylla, *read* Sylla. *p. ib. l.* 9. *for* Pharmaces, *r.* Pharnaces. *p.* 11. *marg. for the Cities Motto tryumphant, r. The Cities triumphant Motto. p.* 14. *l.* 22. *for whicn, r. which. p.* 19. *l. ult. for guardon, r. guerdon. p.* 22. *l.* 20. *for anacted, r. enacted. p.* 27. *l.* 18. *for* Phocyon, *r.* Phoeyons. *p.* 84. *l.* 22. dele *no. p.* 145. *l.* 2. *for* Scylla, *r.* Sylla. *p.* 156. *l.* 1. dele *is. p.* 161. *l.* 24. *for over, r. ever. ib. l.* 26. *for difficulty, r. difficultly. p.* 164. *l.* 24. *for* Lincius, *r.* Lynceus. *p.* 170. *l.* 8. *for* latescit, *r.* lacessit. *p.* 174. *l. ult. for attendants, r. attendance. p.* 194. *l.* 28. *for leas, r. lees. p.* 205. *marg. for* Amazantus, *r.* Amiantus. *p.* 220. *l.* 9. *for reasons, r. relations.* * *Quot folia, tot errorum fila, preli fœda; Quot Chalcographi crimina, tot Autographi vulnera.* Animadvers. *p.* 239. *l. ult. for we, r. were. p.* 374. *l.* 25. *for Scrutine, r. Scrutiny. p.* 343. *l.* 16. *for inventing, r. in venting. p.* 347. *l.* 3. *for* Aulius, *r.* Aulus. *p.* 348. *l.* 29. *for never, r. never more. p.* 461. *marg. for beastiall, r. bestiall. p.* 362. *l.* 9. *for ices, r. vices. p.* 369. *l.* 9. *for make might, r. might make.*